

COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES' MANI-  
FESTO ADOPTED NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1960  
INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

TESTIMONY OF JAY LOVESTONE

JANUARY 26, FEBRUARY 2, 1961

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## ANALYSIS OF 1960 MOSCOW MANIFESTO

THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1961

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met pursuant to notice at 10:45 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Thomas J. Dodd presiding.

Present: Senators Dodd and Kenneth B. Keating.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director, and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator Dodd. The subcommittee will please come to order.

### STATEMENT OF JAY LOVESTONE

Senator Dodd. Mr. Lovestone, I am glad you are here. I am anxious to hear what you have to say on this very important matter.

The Internal Security Subcommittee has asked Mr. Jay Lovestone to come here today and testify and give his expert interpretation and analysis of the recent statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, which met in November and December of 1960 in Moscow.

Mr. Lovestone has been a student of Communist theory and practice for more than 40 years.

Is that right?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Senator Dodd. That is a long time.

I am certainly glad that you found the time to come here, and I am anxious to hear what you have to say.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Thank you, Senator Dodd and Senator Keating.

I appreciate this opportunity to present an evaluation of a conference which involves very much the present and the future of our country.

Let me say at the outset that I am speaking here not as an official of or in the name of the AFL-CIO, for whom I am working. I am just giving you my opinions and evaluations based on my years of study and practical experience.

The recent international Communist conference held in Moscow made a number of decisions which affect the most vital interests of the American people and the entire free world. Eighty-one parties were represented at this highly secret gathering of the top leaders of international communism. Twelve of them were ruling parties—that is, parties now holding their respective countries under the yoke of totali-

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tarian dictatorship. The remaining 69 were Communist parties outside the Iron Curtain.

It is interesting to note that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was not represented.

The presence of the Communist Party of the United States makes the deliberations and decisions of this conference of direct and immediate concern to our country, our Government, our labor movement, and all our other free institutions.

And I might say here that the victor, and the father of the decisions at this Moscow conference, was none other than Khrushchev, who, on January 6, several weeks afterward, made an enormously long speech, long even for a Bolshevik leader, in which he amplified what transpired at this conference.

And merely to add weight I want to quote one or two lines from him. From Khrushchev's report, "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement," before the party organization of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism Attached to the Central Committee of the CPSU, January 6, 1961:

Participating in the conference were prominent leaders of Marxist-Leninist parties which are waging under difficult conditions a heroic struggle against capitalism, the fighting leaders of the national liberation movement—in other words, the elite of the international Communist movement \* \* \*.

Now this was not a talkfest, my friends, it was a very serious businesslike session, and Mr. Khrushchev said:

It provides the profound analysis of new phenomena in the world arena and contains important theoretical and political deductions for the activity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. The statement will serve as the true compass in the further struggle for the great aim that confronts communism, the working class, and the progressive people of all countries \* \* \*.

Representatives of Communist and Workers' parties exchanged their opinions on the present informational situation, discussed the urgent problems of the Communist and Workers' movements, or, as comrades figuratively stated at the conference, synchronized their watches. Indeed, the Socialist countries and the Communist parties must synchronize their watches. When someone's clock is fast or slow, it is regulated so that it shows the correct time. Similarly, it is necessary to check the time of the Communist movement so that our powerful army keeps in step and makes confident strides toward communism \* \* \*.

Every party will adhere to these decisions in a strict and sacred manner throughout its activities.

That is Khrushchev.

There has been no international Communist gathering of this size or sort since 1935, when the seventh and last World Congress of the Comintern was held. Alongside of the 1961 Moscow gathering, the 1947 Cominform session, under the rule of Stalin, was a loose and petty affair, with only nine parties represented. The international Communist conclave held in Moscow, in November 1957, had 65 Communist parties in attendance. Its declaration was signed only by the 19 Communist parties which had already seized power. The Yugoslav League of Communists participated in the conference, but did not sign the declaration. However, it did join the other 64 Communist parties in signing the so-called "Peace Manifesto."

It is significant that the statement of policy adopted by the 1960 gathering, claiming to represent 36 million organized Communists, was signed jointly by all parties—and I emphasize the "all"—the

illegal as well as the legal and the Communist parties which are still striving to seize power as well as those which already have power. This declaration laid down the directives which all Communist parties must follow. Out of this conference there is coming a highly disciplined and strongly centralized global Communist apparatus geared to waging a greatly intensified drive against the free world and particularly against our country, our institutions, and our way of life.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt for just a moment.

There has been mention made of this manifesto or statement. I wonder if the Chair would like to have the text of that in the record at this point so that it can precede the statement of the witness?

Senator DODD. I think it should be in the record. But I think at this point it would be disruptive of his remarks. Wouldn't it be better to put it at the end of the statement?

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good.

(The text of the document appears as app. I at pp. 53, 76.)

Mr. LOVESTONE. This threat is very serious. The Communists have recovered much of the ground they lost in the Polish revolt and the Hungarian revolution. Their master in the Kremlin is convinced that the Soviet military and economic position vis-a-vis our country and the free world has become stronger. This accounts for the arrogant self-confidence and offensive spirit of the 1960 manifesto. This insolent conceit was reflected by Pravda on December 7, 1960, when it boasted that—

The international Communist movement is in a great upsurge. It has become the most influential political force of our time \* \* \*.

Now some questions come to my mind in examining this problem.

Why was this 1960 conference shrouded in such great secrecy?

What were its most important decisions? Do these decisions help or hurt the outlook for world peace?

Why did this congress give special attention to the United States?

How will the conference clarification of the so-called peaceful co-existence strategy affect the activities of the Communist Party in the United States? And how will this clarification affect the relations between Moscow and the newly elected administration of our country?

Has this conference settled the differences between Moscow and Peiping? Did Khrushchev or Mao win? What do the present Sino-Soviet relations portend for American foreign policy? In the light of the policies adopted by this conference, shall our country scrap or strengthen its opposition to U.N. membership for the Chinese Communist regime?

Now these are questions which affect us every minute of the day, in every day of our lives.

This conference was organized to clarify the policies and cement the ranks of world communism, under the hegemony of the Soviet Communist Party, with a view of stepping up the Communist drive for conquering the world and remolding it on the Soviet pattern.

By the way, my friends, when I speak of conquering the world, I do not mean to exclude the United States, but first the United States.

The duration and secrecy of this gathering were dictated by the purpose for which it was organized. It has often been the strategy, especially of the Soviet Communists, to create an air of secrecy about their plans so as to befuddle those whom they would subvert



and conquer. When deliberations are steeped in secrecy, it is easier to make their unanimity appear genuine. This helps impress both those who are to carry out the decisions and those against whom the decisions are aimed.

No doubt the Soviet Communist leaders felt that, by holding the conference in strictest secrecy, they would find it easier to secure a decision, in ironing out their differences with the Chinese Communists, that would strengthen still further Moscow's control and Khrushchev's leadership of world communism.

The conference was held at a crucial moment in the career of Khrushchev's rise to unchallengeable leadership within the U.S.S.R. and in his drive to be the dominant world figure. In this situation, very careful and secret handling of the problems confronting the conference was essential. Khrushchev had too much to lose if anything were to go awry for him. Though he faces no danger of effective opposition to his leadership of the Soviet Communist Party, there is much dissatisfaction among the people over the level of consumption continuing to lag badly behind industrial growth. Moreover, anxious moods grip the Soviet peoples as a result of the collapse of the Paris summit, the sterile negotiations over disarmament, and the deteriorating relations with the United States.

Finally, by shrouding this conference in secrecy the Soviet rulers who ran it sought thereby to create an atmosphere which might lead the new administration in Washington to believe that something new and different was coming out of Moscow to facilitate a fresh start in Soviet-American relations.

In anticipation, some in our country have already begun to attach importance to certain so-called cordial overtures from Moscow. Abroad, in some European and Asian capitals, such illusions have multiplied even faster. These illusions have been stimulated by the fact that, at the Moscow conference, Khrushchev was the victor over Mao. In the eyes of these observers, Khrushchev represents the "peaceful" and "moderate" while Mao speaks for the more militant, more aggressive, and bellicose brand of communism. In no small measure, these assumptions explain why certain circles have been blind and silent in regard to Moscow's latest aggressive cold war maneuvers in Laos and Cuba and are so prejudiced and indignant against American policy toward these countries.

There is no basis for these pro-Soviet illusions. The manifesto which the conference adopted is anything but a document charting a course for peace. The victory for Khrushchev is not a victory for moderation. Out of this conference, there has come an extremist, adventurist program for Communist world conquest. The Moscow manifesto is a clear and unmistakable declaration of war against human freedom, democratic institutions, and the free peoples. Maximum Communist consolidation is essential for this offensive. The manifesto provides for welding the world Communist movement into a firmly disciplined body, under Soviet hegemony—a new Communist international with an enlarged and active apparatus. We are told by the manifesto that:

It is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist movement . . . The interests of the Communist movement require solidarity in adherence—"adherence" is a Latin word for "action"—"adherence by every

Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, and socialism jointly reached by the fraternal parties at their meetings.

Senator KEATING. Before he turns to the next page, may I make a comment, Mr. Chairman?

Senator DODD. Yes.

Senator KEATING. On page 2 of your statement you referred, Mr. Lovestone, to the fact that "some in our country have already begun to attach importance to certain so-called cordial overtures from Moscow." I have been very much personally interested in the release of these two fliers. One of them is a young man whose father lives in New York City. And I have been doing everything I possibly could through our Department of State to try to bring whatever pressures could be brought to bear for his release.

And I am gratified and grateful and thankful, and the family are, that he has been released.

As an expert on the thinking of the men of the Kremlin, and the like, do you look upon this incident as of any significance? And do you not feel that it is an overture to the new administration to try to soften them?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Senator Keating, let me say at the very outset, I agree with the remarks of the President as made yesterday in regard to the release of the fliers. I want to add, we have to view this in the full perspective. First of all, the Russians never had any business to have these fliers. This is no concession to us. This is a minor rectification by themselves.

Secondly, they have in cold blood murdered four fliers. They have not expressed any regrets—I am not using Khrushchev's term, "apology"—they haven't had the decency to express regrets.

Next, they are holding other American fliers. They have released these fliers, and we welcome their release. We welcome the tiniest sign of civilization and decency from the uncivilized and indecent. We welcome their release, but we must not forget that there are others too, and we must not forget that they were shot down in cold blood in waters that were not Russian, in international waters.

Now, if that will help clear the air or promote some less hostile atmosphere, I am all for it. But let's not lose our perspective. Welcome even the tiniest mercies, but do not forget that you are dealing with a merciless opponent.

That would be my answer to you, Senator.

Let me add about Khrushchev, you know at the last meeting of the Central Committee Khrushchev was an expert on agriculture and virgin soil; like Stalin was an expert on everything. Now he is an expert on watchmaking. In the report of his statement of his view of what the Communist movement is and what it has to do he says the representative of the Communist workers parties who exchanged their opinions on the present international situation and discussed the urgent problems of Communist workers parties, must synchronize their watches.

Whom are they watching if they are keeping time?

Indeed, the Socialist parties and the Communist parties must synchronize their watches. When someone's clock is fast or slow, it is regulated so that it shows the correct time.



And Khrushchev is the great regulator.

Similarly, it is necessary to check the time of the Communist movement so that our powerful army keeps in step and makes confident strides toward communism. Every party will adhere to these decisions in a strict and sacred manner throughout its activities.

Khrushchev is an eloquent spokesman for a bad cause, but we must take very seriously his own evaluations.

Senator DODD. What are you reading from now?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I am reading from the address delivered by Khrushchev to the top Communist Party leaders in Moscow on January 6, an address which unfortunately has not been printed in full in our press. I don't see how any press can keep up with all the speeches he makes, with the length of them. It is not a criticism of the press but a criticism of Khrushchev.

But we must be thankful to him, because he lets the cat out of the bag, and it is not always a good cat to look at, so we don't have illusions.

Senator KEATING. Are you going to deal later in your statement with your evaluation of Khrushchev?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

The statement of policy adopted by the latest Moscow conference is the sharpest declaration of war, ever adopted by any international Communist gathering, against the United States, against our way of life, and our Nation's role in world affairs.

In this connection, there is to be noted a very significant contrast between the 1960 manifesto and the one adopted by the preceding international conclave held in Moscow at the close of 1957. While the latest Moscow manifesto bristles with bitterness and abuse against the United States as a country—it isn't the question of attacking President Eisenhower, or one President or the other, but as a country, and the American people as a nation—that means all of us—the 1957 proclamation aimed its insults only at "the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States." In 1957, in preparation for the "Spirit of Camp David," the international Communist conference directed its strongest blows only against "the policy of certain aggressive circles in the United States" but not against our country as a whole. In 1957, the Moscow conference even emphasized that "the solidarity of the Socialist states is not directed against any other state."

Senator DODD. May I please ask a question?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Please, sir.

Senator DODD. Can you give us any idea why the Communist world in January of 1960, would attack us as a nation and as a people as distinguished from its approach in 1957?

I want to tell you why I asked the question. It seems to me that it would be almost self-defeating. It would be sure to arouse people to some extent, it would alarm us. What do you think they did it for?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Senator Dodd, let me preface my answer with a remark. One of the things for which we have to thank the Lord is that the Communists make mistakes. We live on their mistakes to a very great extent. And I think they do make a mistake when they engage in such propaganda.

The question is, why do they do it now?

They are drunk with confidence, with conceit, with power. They have strengthened their position since 1957; they have recovered from the terrible blow they suffered in Hungary, from the setback in Poland, from the general lack of magnetism and attraction and enticement which the Communist movement suffered right after these great historic struggles in opposition to them. Today they feel that they are strong enough militarily, economically, and politically in regard to the so-called neutral countries, that the world position of the Communist countries has reached such heights in comparison to ours in the Western World, steeped in dissension and confusion and hesitation, that they can speak arrogantly.

And let's be quite frank and tell the truth. If it hadn't been for the United States there wouldn't be a country in the world that could exist in freedom. Now, you take India. Do you think India for a moment would be able to survive if the Chinese and the Russians attacked unless we came in to help them with our great strength?

And that is the way. They are concentrating on the main target. They feel strong today, and they didn't feel that way in 1957.

Hatred of the United States runs like a red thread throughout the analysis and program of action emanating from the world Communist summit. Why? The Kremlin rulers realize that, despite all the mistakes our country may have made in countering the Soviet drive and in spite of the weaknesses we have allowed our economy to develop, there is, in the last resort, only one force, one real obstacle, in the way of their conquering every country in Africa, Europe, Asia, or anywhere else: That force is the great American military, economic, technological, and moral strength and potential. This explains why the latest international Communist statement has denounced our country with a viciousness unequaled even in the arsenal of Soviet insults and slanders. Realizing our country's strength and anticipating a vitalization of American foreign policy, Moscow made sure to have its manifesto call for maximum mobilization of the ranks of world communism against the United States.

And bear with me as I quote a couple of paragraphs:

The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted militarized economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter. \* \* \*

U.S. imperialism involved \* \* \* countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against Socialist and neutral countries. \* \* \* The imperialists form military-political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the Socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation working class and Socialist movements. \* \* \*

U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme \* \* \* it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

My friends, the content and the intent of this declaration has far more permanent meaning than the recent release of the fliers, though we welcome their release.

This is Khrushchev's olive branch to the United States for 1961. The principal architect of the aforementioned abuse is none other than Khrushchev, who has been talking so much about peaceful coexistence.



These lines are Kremlin commands to its world Communist apparatus, its saboteurs, spy rings, dupes, and fellow-travelers to wage an all-out campaign against the United States as the biggest barrier to Soviet world domination. Here are instructions and plans for more Castros and more Cuban-type Soviet dependencies in Latin America where Communist propaganda and subversive activities are to be enormously expanded. Thus, after his recent return from Moscow and Peiping, Maj. Ernesto Guevara, director of the Cuban National Bank, said on January 7, 1961, in regard to the Castro dictatorship:

We can be considered a bright example for the understanding of revolution and its development: coming to power, destroying institutionalism; and staying in power, promoting the revolution to its present state.

This is the language of the Kremlin.

The Communist Party of the United States and the various camouflaged front outfits it is now breeding and building, including the Fair Play Committee for Cuba, or including the Unfair Play Committee Against the United States, if I may be more accurate, are playing and will play a prominent and dangerous role in supporting the Castro cause against the American cause—not only within our Nation's borders but throughout Latin America.

Let no one say that this international Communist declaration has no significance for Soviet foreign policy. Some people might say this is propaganda. Propaganda is poisonous, especially when it is handed out by a machine of that sort. Documents emanating from Communist gatherings—national as well as international—are often important forecasts of, and guides to, evolving Kremlin foreign policy. The Kremlin rulers inspire and dictate these declarations. For example, more than a year before the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed in August 1939, the underground Communist Party of Germany was reported to have held a convention. It issued a manifesto calling upon its "blood enemy," the Hitler government, to live in peace and friendship with the Soviet Union. By September 1939, after the Commu-Nazi butchery of Poland, the Soviet Foreign Minister spoke of the Nazis and Communists as "blood brothers"—sort of a dialectic transformation.

Had the Western statesmen paid attention to and understood the why and wherefore of this German Communist Party manifesto echoing Moscow's aims, they would have been less surprised by and more prepared for the Stalin-Hitler pact and for Moscow's subsequent praise of Nazi Germany as "peace loving" and denunciation of Britain and France as "imperialist aggressors" responsible for the world war.

Today, a careful study of the latest Moscow manifesto will help the leaders of public opinion in the free world see clearly the intentions of the Soviet rulers and their use of the international Communist movement for furthering the interest of Communist imperialism and world conquest. Such understanding is a paramount prerequisite for sound democratic foreign policy.

I stress this point because very often you hear statesmen say, "We do not know the intentions of the Kremlin." That is one thing the Kremlin always tells you, is its intentions. It is up to us to know it.

Let me say a few words about peaceful coexistence.

In their conference declaration, the Moscow manifesto manufacturers have let a number of cats out of the bag—particularly in regard to the real meaning of the Kremlin strategy of so-called peaceful coexistence. The manifesto piously proclaims that: "Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems" is "the alternative" to war today. But, in spelling out what this policy means to the Soviet regime and international communism, and its agents in the United States, the declaration emphasizes that:

Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle, as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

In conditions of peaceful coexistence, favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries \* \* \*. It implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist parties, for the triumph of Socialist ideas. But the ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

What does international communism expect to gain by pursuing this policy? The manifesto answers:

This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the Socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries \* \* \*

Senator KEATING. In other words, peaceful domination would be a better term than peaceful coexistence?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, as to the peaceful nature of that, Senator Keating, I am going to deal with that a little later when I take up the question of violence, because the Communists have a very clear theory of violence, the essence of which is, "Don't resist me, if you do I will punish you, you will be guilty of violence."

Senator KEATING. In other words, they prefer to dominate you by peaceful means rather than war?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No. Like all conquerors, they would like to get the loot without the fight. Hitler wanted the same thing. I want to remind you, when the so-called phony war began, Hitler sent a message to the French, "Now if you will resist us, we will fire on this village, and on the next one, and why destroy these beautiful villages? Let's live in peace"—on his terms. That is the gimmick.

One might ask: Why has the conference found it necessary to go into such a full explanation? The Kremlin rulers and their lieutenants of world communism seek to make sure that no Communist should make the mistake of believing that this strategy calls for a policy which is either peaceful or coexistence in the basic relations between the free world and the Communist empire. All Communist parties are to engage energetically in political, economic, ideological, and sundry other subversive activities in order to prepare the final blow against the free nations. Obviously, those in the free world who want to surrender peacefully will be given the chance to go "freely" into the Communist slave system.

All too often, people in the democratic countries pay, at best, very little attention to the one-sidedness of Moscow's so-called coexistence policy. As Moscow sees it and insists, its so-called coexistence policy will assure all Communists and their organizations in the democratic countries full freedom of propaganda and the untrammelled right to engage in subversive activities against their freely elected govern-



ments and all other free institutions. However, on the basis of the same Moscow-Peiping concept of "peaceful coexistence" no rights whatever, let alone equal rights, are to be accorded to democratic persons or prodemocratic groups in the Communist countries for propagating their ideals or promoting their cause. Inside the Communist empire, the proponents of Western democracy, dissident Communists or even critics of Khrushchev or Mao Tse-tung within the Soviet or Chinese Communist Party leadership are to be ruthlessly denied all rights and possibilities to state their viewpoint—let alone to struggle for their ideas. This is a one-sided deal.

What the Communists are saying to us essentially is, "We demand full freedom in the name of your principles, but we deny to you any freedom in the name of our principles."

This is no philosophy of "live and let live." This is the Communist philosophy of "let me live, so that I can kill you and prepare to bury you."

Clearly, coexistence as elaborated, explained, and advocated in the Moscow manifesto is not a goal of genuine peace; it is only a treacherous weapon to be employed for furthering the interests of Soviet imperialism in its drive for world conquest and Communist enslavement of the entire human race.

Hungary has shown that Moscow is firmly opposed to genuine peaceful coexistence with another country which might have a social system even slightly different from the Soviet pattern.

The smoldering Berlin crisis shows that Khrushchev will not permit even two cities with differing social systems—actually two parts of one city—to coexist for long in peace.

Senator Dodd. Mr. Lovestone, do you have any ideas as to why the Soviet Union has permitted Austria to escape?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is a very interesting question, Senator. Austria is of greater value to the Russians in its so-called neutralized form than it would be if we were quarreling over it. The so-called concession they made to Austria—it would seem to me they did what they were supposed to do without any argument—was made at a moment to have a profound effect on Germany. For a while inside Germany there developed a big school, particularly among the Social Democrats, which said for a while, "Why can't we go with Austria?" It was a bait for confusion.

And incidentally, I might say to you, Senator, that in my opinion, the neutralization of Austria as arranged has had a profoundly bad effect on the Socialist Party of Austria, which is no longer as healthy and virile an opponent of communism—it is still anti-Communist, it is democratic—as it was before the neutralization. And that was a price the Russians could pay, it wasn't something they gave up, so that they could say, "Look how good we were to Austria."

If Germany were to accept that status, you might ask me, would the Russians accept it?

Only for a moment, because Germany is not Austria, because Germany is too big and important to be neutralized, they don't want a neutral Germany, they want a Communist Germany.

But the neutralization of Austria was a means for confusing and neutralizing certain forces so as to promote their main objectives in Germany.

Senator Dodd. I think we should discuss these things, because many people are interested in your views.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That argument will be used, Senator. But I think we have to learn one thing from the Communists: the Communists never tire of repeating the untruth. Let us never tire of repeating the truth.

Let me say a few words about Berlin and Germany.

The extremely bitter outburst against the United States reflects Khrushchev's rage over American help to the people of West Germany and over their splendid achievements in building a healthy democracy and reviving and strengthening their economy. The Soviet dictatorship is intensely angered by the unbreakable determination of the German people to achieve national unity in freedom. The Kremlin rulers do not hide their fury at democratic Germany's readiness to assume its share of responsibility in the defense of free Europe. Khrushchev's agony and arrogance over these developments are thus revealed with ominous significance in the Moscow manifesto:

West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament, and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all peace-loving countries and nations of Europe.

An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The meeting regards it as the duty of all—

and I emphasize the "all"—

the countries of the Socialist camp and all of the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nations.

Let me say a few words about this, because this is a very significant statement in the light of history of Germany since the war.

These orders should be taken very seriously by our country and its NATO allies. From Lenin down through Khrushchev, Germany has played a pivotal part in the history of world communism. Lenin had the highest hopes for the worldwide triumph of communism through the Communist conquest of Germany. His successors have operated on the same premise. They have felt that if they had all Germany under Communist control, then all Europe would soon be theirs. That is why Lenin risked his costly and historic defeat at the gates of Warsaw in July 1920. To Lenin, Warsaw was the gate to Berlin and Germany and, therefore, to the communization of all Europe. The reasoning of these Communist dictators was simple: Once all of Europe was in their grip, the world could not for long remain free from their yoke.

Khrushchev, like Stalin, is also in the thrall of this grandiose Leninist strategic conception. His attitude is reflected in the highly complimentary terms of the manifesto for the Soviet puppet regime in Pankow.

Consequently, the Berlin crisis and the German situation still are and will continue to be the gravest source of danger for a world war—regardless of how much shooting there may be in the Congo, Laos, and over Quemoy and Matsu. The Berlin crisis is far more important than the Soviet noise made in the United Nations in behalf of Mao Tse-tung and against the U.N. Secretary General. In fact, the Mos-



cow manifesto does not even mention Taiwan or the U.N. as problems of world tension.

The only way to prevent Khrushchev from seizing Berlin, grabbing all Germany and plunging mankind into world war III is to convince him that we will militarily not permit any Communist adventure in this most pivotal area. Khrushchev is a pastmaster in bluster, bragging, and bulldozing. But he also knows his own strength—and ours too. He will not risk a world war, once he is convinced that our country and its allies will fight to preserve free Berlin and free Germany—and thus free Europe and the free world.

And here I want to say that the President of the country rendered a great service to the cause of peace in his recent brief message to this publication, *Berliner Illustrierter*, where he said, "We will fight for Berlin." I think that will make Khrushchev think twice before he talks, let alone acts.

Let me say a few words about the differences between Moscow and Peiping, which touches the very heart of the Communist plans for our country.

In recent months, the Chinese Communist Party leadership has begun to develop some ideological differences with and grievances against the Soviet party ruling group. These differences and grievances have never been officially acknowledged or fully admitted. Nonetheless, they were there, though often exaggerated or misunderstood, especially in the non-Communist world.

To the extent that there have been or still are, such differences between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties, they are important because of the size of Mao's organization, the area and population under its iron heel, the strategic position of the Chinese mainland, and the particular appeal which the Chinese Communist movement, being nonwhite, might have among the people of the industrially underdeveloped areas. However, in evaluating these or any other differences between Communist parties, we must, first of all, keep uppermost in our mind that whether they be rhetorical, tactical, or doctrinal differences, Communist parties are bound together by an all-important, overriding goal—and that is Communist conquest and transformation of the world, and the first prerequisite for this is the destruction of the United States.

Here we must guard against the temptation to resort to historical analogies. Since Communist Russia and Communist China are bound together by this overriding common objective, it would be dangerously false to equate their difference or jealousies with the hostility and clash of interests between Czarist Russia and pre-World War I China.

Moreover, in the specific Sino-Soviet case, the differences have not been of such a character as to eliminate, change vitally or soften in the least the hostile policies of either Moscow or Peiping toward the United States and the rest of the free world. Moscow and Peiping always have been, and are today, in full agreement on their basic aim to bury us, though they may, at one time or another, disagree over certain details of the funeral arrangements they would like to make for us.

For that we can be thankful, I think, after we are dead, providing it is only after we are dead and not before.

Actually, the differences between Moscow and Peiping involve not so much "ideology" as a power struggle within the international Communist movement. Peiping has become a great power center in Asia, and, therefore, in the world. This development was bound to have an important impact on the relationships within the world Communist movement. But whatever grievance or jealousy Peiping has had or still has, its capacity for counter-action or independent moves is limited by its own economic, technological and military weaknesses in comparison with the Soviet Union. Peiping cannot risk any serious military undertaking—unless it is first assured full Soviet military, economic, political and diplomatic support. For example, Mao could never have waged the war in Korea without such Russian support.

The conference was called upon to clarify and resolve any differences which may have arisen between Moscow and Peiping in regard to the attitude toward the non-Communist nationalist forces in the countries which recently won or were still struggling for their independence. It has also been said that, according to Peiping, communism could conquer the world only through a world war, while Moscow wants and plans to have world communism triumph peacefully. This approach to the Sino-Soviet differences is a vulgar oversimplification. It reminds us of the costly error made by some in the Western World during the great struggle for power between Trotsky and Stalin.

And I ask you to bear with me. This is a very important point that I want to bring home.

At that time some held that Trotsky wanted international Social-revolution, while Stalin wanted socialism in one country. On the basis of this alleged "profound ideological difference" between the two would-be dictators of world communism, people were urged to reject Trotsky as the more dangerous and to back Stalin as the less dangerous enemy of world democracy.

I name no names of correspondents; my friends are acquainted with the *New York Times* and other publications.

History has shown how completely wrong this evaluation was. The "more dangerous" Trotsky did not endanger the peace and freedom of the world; he died in exile—Mexico—murdered by a paid agent of the "more moderate" Stalin. My authority is Khrushchev.

On the other hand, the so-called less dangerous Stalin, headed the Soviet dictatorship which deported, starved, and murdered millions of its own citizens—and signed a "pact of peace and friendship" with Hitler to give the green light to the Nazis launching World War II.

Let's not be in such a hurry as to pick preferences among and have favorites among the Communist criminals. Who would be more violent and who will be less violent depends on the target at the moment.

Now, the question of violence and more violence.

The Communists of all countries have always maintained that they want to take full power without resorting to violence. Actually, no Communist Party has ever taken full power peacefully. Of course, after resorting to violence on its road to power, the Communist Party always denounces those resisting the establishment of its dictatorship as the ones guilty of using violence. Though Khrushchev and



Mao prefer to get the loot of conquest without having to go to war for it, as heads of Communists states, they place great reliance on military power as an instrument of their international policy. They continually arm themselves for aggression and adamantly oppose effective international inspection of their offensive military establishments. They stealthily and openly provide arms to Communist Parties fighting to seize full power through military action. They arm one state against another to aggravate political tension. To hide their own plans and preparations for military subversion and aggression, the Communist states and parties continually denounce as "enemies of peace" and "imperialists" all nations which strive to be strong enough to deter and defeat Communist conquest.

Chinese Communist Party statements have revealed that, in its efforts to advance communism, the Peiping regime was more ready than Moscow to risk a general—nuclear—war. This difference in attitude grew out of a number of factors. When Mao looks at the Asian countries against which he would be waging war, he finds that they are industrially and militarily much weaker than Communist China. Here, Peiping would be waging war with conventional weapons—and likely fighting only on a local scale. But when Khrushchev looks at the countries the U.S.S.R. would face on the field of battle, were he to go to war, he sees highly industrialized opponents equipped with the most modern, sophisticated—nuclear—weapons and with a retaliatory power which could wipe Soviet industry off the face of the earth and turn the U.S.S.R. into one gigantic wasteland. Then, because of the comparative backwardness and great dispersal of its economy, Communist China would not be as much of a target selected for nuclear attack as the far more industrialized U.S.S.R. would be.

Furthermore, because of its enormous population, Communist China could stand much more easily than the U.S.S.R. the heavy losses that would be incurred in a nuclear war. Communist China would, therefore, be in a more advantageous population position for survival and postwar reconstruction.

Now, the Russians are very conscious of that, and they are realists. And I can cite to you the recent declaration of Maj. Gen. Nicolai Talensky in the October 1960 issue of International Affairs, the leading Communist organ on international problems. The major general said:

There is no doubt that, in the case of a new war, capitalism will be finally buried. But, can one draw the conclusion from this that the casualties of the war, no matter how heavy they were, would be justified? This would be a harmful and antihumanitarian point of view.

As a result of the new war, the population of the world would, in the final analysis, be reduced by half, and, in addition, it would be the most active, competent, and civilized part of humanity which would perish \* \* \*.

The process of development of the technique for destroying people has led to such a situation that it is impossible to use weapons for deciding political questions as it used to be for thousands of years. Nuclear rocket war is extremely dangerous, not only for the side which is attacked, but is suicidal for the aggressor himself.

The Russians are fighting their war or their political struggle on a different terrain than the Chinese, and that accounts for the difference.

Under the circumstances, it is easy to understand why Mao has taken one position and Khrushchev another in regard to risking a general war. Under these circumstances, it is also easy to see why the Western and even Asian Communist parties would not go along with Mao and why the Khrushchev attitude prevailed at the Moscow Conference.

Senator DODD. When you read as you did a few minutes ago quoting General Talensky, I think it would be a good idea to say when he said it and where he said it and where it may be found, so that someone reading this record can look it up.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I took that from an article by General Talensky in the October 1960 issue of International Affairs, which is the central organ on foreign affairs published by the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

The difference of opinion between Moscow and Peiping over "war" as a weapon of world revolution was not as serious as some have concluded. The manifesto indorses such threadbare Communist clichés as "war is a constant companion of capitalism" and "as long as imperialism exists, there will be soil for wars of aggression." But, according to the Moscow manifesto, there is only one reason why "war is not fatally inevitable today." And that is important, there is only one reason why, "war is not fatally inevitable today." Now, what reason is it, according to Moscow?

The reason is that those whom Moscow and Peiping praise as the "peace-loving Socialist forces" have become strong enough to prevent the so-called imperialists from waging war—in other words, we are the ones who want to go to war, and the only reason there is no war is that Moscow is too strong to let us go to war!

This, according to the unanimously adopted manifesto is the only hope for averting world war "even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth with capitalism still existing in parts of the world."

Significantly, this formulation does not—and I emphasize the "not"—include the problem of local wars. Obviously, the likelihood of Communists launching or provoking such wars in various parts of the world (Laos, Congo), is by no means excluded. In fact, the manifesto stresses that—

experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

Years before Khrushchev or Mao Tse-tung was an important figure on the stage of international Communist power politics and intrigue, Stalin—who was the teacher of them all—in his book "Problems of Communism" dealt with the question of the "inevitability" of war as follows:

In the more remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the most important countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by Socialist encirclement—

It has been—

a "peaceful" path of developments is quite possible for certain capitalists countries, whose capitalists, in view of the "unfavorable" international situation, will consider it expedient "voluntarily" to make substantial concessions to the proletariat—



which means to Moscow—

Yes, more than three and one-half decades ago, Stalin clearly formulated the idea that—under the condition of greatly increased Communist power—world war is not a “fatally inevitable” prerequisite for the triumph of international communism. In doing so, Stalin was only echoing Lenin who had first developed this conception. The so-called more moderate Khrushchev did not pioneer this notion. And the bellicose Moscow manifesto only aggravates world tension and hurts the prospects for world peace when it thus reaffirms Stalin’s line of 35 years ago. In other words, if the free world wants peace, all it has to do is to surrender to Moscow.

Today, with Soviet imperialism vastly strengthened, it is the free world that faces encirclement. On this basis, Mao and Khrushchev no doubt feel that the chances of “peaceful surrender” to them are better than in Stalin’s time—and, I might add, as subsequently sharpened by Khrushchev in his address of January 6.

Let me say a few words about national liberation and colonialism.

There has been much misunderstanding even in highly placed circles in our country as to the real meaning of the differences between Moscow and Peiping in regard to Communist tactics in the underdeveloped areas. Such misunderstanding can be very costly to American foreign policy.

Chinese Communists have differed from the Soviet Communists in their attitude and emphasis regarding the tactics to be employed for hastening the triumph of communism in the countries which recently won their national independence or are still fighting to shake off the yoke of colonialism. This difference of approach is rooted in the very history and experience of the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties. The Chinese Communist Party grew as an organization and came to power largely through frontal infiltration and subversion of a non-Communist government in a country which for years had been subjected to a semicolonial status. The Chinese Communists gained much from their membership in the Kuomintang. Under Mao, Chinese Communist armed forces, with gigantic Soviet help, marched toward military and political victory in their country. Mao would have essentially the same tactics employed today for speeding the triumph of communism in the countries which have recently won or are still fighting for their national independence. The experience of the Russian Communists before and since the October revolution was entirely different. The story of their growth is entirely different.

Moreover—and keep this in mind—in most of the African and Asian countries, the Communist parties are either weak or nonexistent. In such a situation, the emphasis placed by Mao on frontal tactics could hardly lead to fruitful results for communism. On the other hand, Khrushchev’s policy of nursing, helping, infiltrating, patiently subverting through economic aid and various other ways, has certainly gotten substantial results for the Kremlin. The influence of the Soviet Union and world communism in the underdeveloped areas has in recent years grown. In this situation it is clear why Khrushchev’s position in regard to working with the so-called independent national democracies prevailed over that of Mao.

Some American observers would have us believe that the position of Khrushchev is the more moderate one. They are wrong. The Khrushchev

shev tactics have proved to be far more effective in advancing Communist imperialism and mobilizing the peoples of the underdeveloped countries against the United States.

In the light of Khrushchev’s role in Cuba, Laos, and the Congo—a role fully endorsed by Peiping—one wonders why so much significance has been attached by some to their differences in respect to the non-Communist nationalist forces in the lesser developed countries, some of which only recently won or are still struggling to win their independence. The fact of the matter is that neither Mao nor Khrushchev ever underestimated the great opportunities for activity and advance provided to Communists by those who practice and defend the old colonialism.

Nor did Khrushchev ever fear any competition from Mao in exploiting this field so generously presented to world communism by the colonialists in Algeria and elsewhere.

Communist China does not have the technical or economic resources to match the Soviet effort and influence in wooing the underdeveloped countries still under the control of or recently freed from the old colonialism. Moscow feels so sure of itself in this realm that, on occasion, it puts Chinese Communists in the forefront, particularly when and where the Kremlin wants to put on a mask of politeness and sweet reasonableness or when and where violent race hatred against a white people best serves its own sordid interests. This sinister and deliberate division of labor between Khrushchev and Mao in Africa, Asia, and Latin America should never be mistaken as an ideological difference or clash of interest between them.

I don’t want to go into it now, but one might examine the question of so-called political physics on the nature and direction of projectile missiles, and you will get an insight into Communist tactics.

Apparently the difference over the “national liberation movements”—that is, the national bourgeoisie, as they are called—has also been grossly exaggerated. Communists have for years recognized that the non-Communist nationalists have a role to play—for a while—in their country’s struggle for independence. But the Communists have always placed their trust in a worker-peasant alliance under Communist Party leadership. The manifesto thus reaffirms this conception:

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations, and inspiring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front.

However, at the 1960 Moscow conclave there was presented a somewhat new formula, if not approach, for dealing with this problem. For the first time, there appears in Communist literature the expression “independent national democracy.” Such a “national democracy” is considered as a transition stage to a “people’s democracy” which in turn is a transition stage to a full-blown Communist society. It is like the Russian doll. The doll in a doll, within a doll.

This new formulation indicates that under Moscow’s orders and direction the Communists will, if necessary, move more carefully in countries like Cuba, Ghana, and even India. Yet, despite pledges to give “every support” to such regimes, the Moscow manifesto does not hesitate to criticize sharply the United Arab Republic, the Sudan, and Iraq for “mistreatment” of their Communist parties.



In this connection let me say that only the other day the Egyptian, or the UAR Government, arrested some of the top leadership of the Communist Party, which is underground in the UAR.

The inclusion of this criticism very likely represents a concession by Khrushchev to the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist Party. This criticism reflects the disappointments of Communists in Moscow, Peiping, and elsewhere. The Kremlin, in particular, had counted on continuous generous treatment of its fifth column by the governments of countries receiving Soviet political and economic support. They expected that. But while ready to accept economic help from Moscow, the rulers of these countries, like Egypt or Iraq, have come to realize that the Kremlin-controlled Communist parties are working fanatically to take over full power for themselves and then do some head chopping of the non-Communist leaders. And no matter what criticism you make of General Kassem or Nasser, they would rather see somebody else's head chopped off than their own, which is an understandable instinct in politics and elsewhere.

Senator KEATING. Let me ask you a question. In your appraisal of the situation, are we less likely to have war provoked—as we all know, it will never be provoked by us—are we less likely to have it if Khrushchev remains strong, or if he starts to become weak?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The weaker our enemy is the better the chance for peace, Senator.

Senator KEATING. I am speaking of Khrushchev himself, not his country. In other words, we have seen in the past in history sometimes that a leader, when he felt his power was slipping, felt that in order to consolidate his power he must engage in aggression outside his own country.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think there is a lot in what you say, Senator. Khrushchev is an adventurer; he is far less patient and methodical than Stalin was, far less cool. And there is no guarantee that in a moment of rage he may not do certain things when he sees power slipping, that he may even attack us.

And then the question arises, What shall we do? My only answer would be what we should do and what we shouldn't do.

First of all, we should do this. We should, first of all, be so strong that not even the maddest adventurer could get away with it, or even have hopes.

Secondly, we should not do anything to help any dictator consolidate his power, his machine or instrument of oppression over his own people, because then we lose in the end: they are not our friends, they may lose their power, and there is no assurance that if we help them we would not be encouraging their appetite for adventure.

Let me digress a moment, Senator Keating, and say this to you. The Western World gave the Soviet Union from 1919 to 1939, in various forms, credits, sales, so on, \$8½ billion of industrial machinery. The theory was that it would become more moderate, that conditions would be better, it would then become more peaceful. It turned out to be wrong.

Germany was a very highly developed country, technically speaking, and had many scientists and philosophers and a high rate of literacy. But when you have power fall into the hands of a desperate despot, we had war regardless of the culture of the people and the edu-

cation and technology. But we are now facing the same thing in the Soviet Union.

Now, we could have stopped Hitler when he started to march into the Rhineland in 1936; if a couple of French divisions had mobilized, Hitler would have been stopped, and he would soon be pushing daisies—I don't know what he is pushing now. But on the basis, not only of study—I know the quality of these people—there is one thing they respect, and that is the fist.

I don't say that you should push it in their face all the time. You have to have some respect for your fist, but you have to have your fist so that they will understand it. If you have a big enough fist they will be nice to you. They may even release the seven fliers that they say they haven't got.

Let's keep that in mind.

Senator KEATING. Do you place any reliance on some of these new reports that Khrushchev is giving up one-man control of the world Communist organization?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Senator, absolutely not. It becomes second or third nature, in the Communist movement to have this development. When the movement began there was a certain amount of idealism, romanticism, sincerity—let's grant that—and Lenin ruled more by authority and prestige, his having been the father of a victorious revolution. Later on that degenerated from prestige to power and authority in Stalin. And Stalin, well, nobody depends on Stalin's methods of rule today, not even his most apt pupils.

But under Stalin you still had an opposition, for a while Trotsky opposed him, there was a platform, and the world knew what it was. Now Khrushchev in 1957 eliminated the top hardware all at one blow, more at one blow than Stalin did, Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich, Bulganin, and Shepilov. And what happened?

He never even allowed the world to see their platform. He told them, "You're an antiparty group," and he condemned them, and that is all.

Now, if you ask what happened in the last Central committee meetings of the Communist Party, it was like a teacher giving an oral examination to children. No matter who said anything about pigs, about corn, about oats, Khrushchev always interrupted and told them how to do it. And every party leader said, "Yes, Comrade Khrushchev, you are right." And those who didn't say it won't be saying things very long, or maybe they would be saying them where nobody will hear them.

The situation is such that you don't need Russian mass terrorism any more. The people have become so malleable that they even don't need any threats today.

By the way, that decision to abolish mass terrorism was made under Stalin. Khrushchev introduced the resolution at the party congress in 1939, and they spoke very openly and said: the historic use of mass terrorism has been ended. Tomorrow they may revive it.

I want to make one general conclusion. As I see it, Lenin represented the worst in Marxism. Stalin represented the worst in Leninism. Khrushchev represents the worst in Stalinism, in the sense that he gets everything the way Stalin got it through such methods as making one a scapegoat, but he doesn't have to press continually any



more, because everybody has been conditioned—I don't want to use the words "Pavlov's theory," because I don't want to compare the nation to a dog and the people to animals in the laboratory—but it is a reflex action, almost, with them in Russia today; nobody would dare say anything, because they know the dictatorship is absolute—they don't have to think to know, it is in their heads, it is in their breath, they have been accustomed and trained to it.

The test in any totalitarian system as to whether there is a liberalization or whether there is progress toward democracy is only one: Is the control of the one and only party which has had a monopoly of power being weakened or strengthened? If it is being weakened, and there is a diffusion of power, then they are moving toward liberalization or democracy. If the power is being centralized in the party, then the trend, regardless of pleasant faces—regardless of dropping certain harsh methods which modern industrial life cannot allow—you cannot have modern production with certain brute methods, you have to soften the way it is being diffused or how it is being strengthened.

And Khrushchev has done this. He has strengthened the power of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, because under Stalin it was beginning to corrode with himself as the dictator in an individual sense. He had the party machinery revitalized. To that extent he has served communism. And to the extent that he has served communism, he has served interests opposed to us, and we have to regard him as the worst.

Senator Dobb. Wouldn't it be accurate to say that abandoning terror is really a policy matter? It isn't really abandoning it, it certainly hasn't been abandoned in Hungary, has it?

Mr. LOVESTONE. You see, power is the ability to dictate decisions and to eliminate those who oppose those decisions. Even if you adopted the policy of those you opposed, once you take over their policy you have got to get rid of them.

Senator Dobb. My point is this. From what I heard you say I don't think you meant to say the Communists have abandoned the use of terror as an instrument of power.

Mr. LOVESTONE. The Communists have not given up the right to use terror or the ability to use terror, or the readiness, but they don't have to use mass terror today, because the people are submissive.

Senator Dobb. So it is just a matter of policy?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right, a matter of technique. I assure you if tomorrow there should be the slightest resistance or the slightest question of the regime in Russia, blood will flow. They might not publicize this very much, nor do they publish their airplane accidents or their automobile accidents, they just don't publicize it, that is their method.

Senator Dobb. And every once and a while one reads what happens to someone like Pasternak's secretary.

Mr. LOVESTONE. The collaborator, yes, you read about that.

Senator Dobb. And that is certainly the use of terror, isn't it?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right. That is a form of reminder to the people. That little Pasternak incident, so-called little, is a reminder to the people, stay in line, if you don't, nothing will save you.

But Moscow cannot provide the help Peiping needs so urgently and, at the same time, lend hundreds of millions of dollars to non-Communist regimes like the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, and Ghana. To further its global strategy, Moscow seeks to subvert these countries through its economic "aid." In this situation, it is entirely understandable that the Peiping ruling clique should resent inadequate Soviet help occasioned by Kremlin aid to the national bourgeoisie. This resentment was expressed by Li Fu Ch'un, head of the state planning committee and member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, who went so far as to raise the slogan of "revival through our own strength." In the Red Flag (August 16, 1960), he outlined a six-point program of the general line and economic policy of the Peiping government and significantly emphasized:

The directive we must adhere to for a long period in the construction of socialism is *revival through our own strength*, building the country in diligence and thrift. In the construction of socialism, we do our best to obtain foreign aid, but the party is consistently of the view that our mainstay is *revival through our own strength*. [Our emphasis.]

He hammered home his point with no little resentment by saying: "*This was so in the past; it is so today; and in the future it will be so.*" [Our emphasis.] Peiping has cloaked this grievance with an ideological cover of critical allusions to those who place too much confidence in the "national bourgeoisie" of the countries which recently won or are still fighting for their national independence. Reflecting the same critical attitude, Peiping set the pace in denouncing the UAR for persecuting its Communist Party. This Chinese Communist resentment cannot get Peiping very far.

Mao has also expected more effective help from Moscow in overcoming Peiping's present inferior world position—its exclusion from the United Nations and summit negotiations. In his all-out drive to meet their grievance, Khrushchev "belched forth" his venomous insults against our country and the United Nations at its 15th General Assembly in the fall of 1960. It can be expected, in line with the latest Moscow manifesto, that Khrushchev and the entire world Communist movement will step up their drive to win free world diplomatic recognition and treatment of the Communist Chinese dictatorship as a great world power.

Despite the unanimous adoption of the Moscow manifesto, it is open to question whether the differences between Moscow and Peiping—especially in regard to war and the national liberation movements—have really been eliminated. Certainly, the grievances have not been overcome. The conference statement cites only the Soviet Union as "successfully carrying out the full-scale construction of a Communist society." It refers, without naming, to some countries as having "already entered the period of construction of a developed Socialist society. This certainly is not to the liking of Mao who stated, in 1957, that socialism was already established, though not yet in perfect form, in China.

In this connection, we can cite as evidence of Peiping's real mood after the unanimity at the Moscow Conference, the December 16, 1960, issue of Red Flag, the biweekly organ of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. It emphasized that Peiping was



always wholeheartedly for avoiding a world war and assuring peace. But, it made a careful selection of the portions of the Moscow statement for its readers and an equally careful and significant omission of the paragraphs it saw fit and chose to omit. In short, it wrote about the Moscow statement in a manner calculated to hide Mao's setback at the hands of Khrushchev.

Communist China would have to be much stronger in its economic and military capacities and achievements before it could do anything effective about its grievances or seriously challenge Soviet hegemony within the Communist world. By now, the whole world knows that grave economic difficulties and mass starvation are gripping the Chinese mainland.

But it would be wrong to assume that the Soviet Union does not attach the greatest importance to its close partnership with Peiping. The enormous importance of this partnership is thus underscored in the Moscow manifesto:

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of world forces changing in favor of world socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that the differences between Moscow and Peiping are variations in approach, in regard to propaganda forms, and not over principles. Peiping is in absolute agreement with Moscow over the ultimate goal of world Communist domination. Chinese Communist slogans and tactics may now and then appear to be more harsh, more rigid, and more aggressive. Communist China is in an earlier stage of revolutionary development than Khrushchev's Russia. However, this difference too is disappearing, as Moscow becomes stronger militarily and economically, it will become more contemptuous of Western hesitation and vacillation and resort to harsher propaganda and even more violent abuse, especially against our country. This is confirmed by the language and battle cries of the latest Moscow manifesto.

Of course, neither our country nor any other nation can ignore the existence of a country with the population, area, strategic importance, and Communist aims and activities of Mao Tse-tung's China. Our national security demands that we do not ignore it, but be ever vigilant against its subversive efforts and ever stronger to meet its potential aggression. In this light, our Government has negotiated with Chinese Communist representatives in Korea, Poland, and Switzerland. But this has not required our Government to accord the Peiping regime diplomatic recognition. Even if Communist China were to become a signatory along with other powers, let us say, to an international disarmament treaty, that would not require our Government granting Peiping diplomatic recognition. Lest we forget, years before our Government recognized the Soviet Union, we did not ignore it and signed jointly with it and others the Kellogg Pact on Disarmament.

It would be a catastrophe for our country—on the basis of such differences between Moscow and Peiping—to do anything which would, in effect, help reduce, let alone eliminate, the irritations or overcome the disputes between Moscow and Peiping. Recognizing Communist China, voting it into U.N. membership, or providing it

with the technological and economic assistance which Moscow cannot provide, would strengthen Peiping and thus seriously weaken our country's international position and prestige. Such steps would only help remove the friction and jealousies between the two Communist giants and weld their ranks and strengthen their vast armies geared for further aggression.

For some time, our Government has been extending substantial economic assistance to the Tito regime of Yugoslavia. Only recently, our country extended additional generous help to this Communist dictatorship. The Moscow manifesto evaluation of the Tito regime is, therefore, of real interest to our country.

The manifesto categorically condemned Tito's Yugoslavia. This denunciation shows Moscow's intense hostility towards a Communist state which varies somewhat in form from the Russian type and which is against being completely subservient to the Kremlin. This heavy assault against Tito surprised many. In 1957, the Moscow declaration did not condemn Tito's League of Yugoslav Communists, though the latter had refused to sign it. During the 3 years that elapsed, the Yugoslav Government has supported Moscow loyally and consistently on the vital issues of the international crisis in the U.N. and elsewhere. What is more, even after the latest denunciation of him, Tito turned all his cheeks to the Russian dictator and stated, on December 26, 1960, that the "aggravation" of the international atmosphere is the fault of certain bellicose people, especially in the West, "who still adhere to the position of power policy in the settlement of international problems and are, therefore, against the easing of international tension."

In spite of such abject, but not total, Yugoslav Communist subservience, the Communist summit found it necessary to brand Tito's Communist dictatorship as a "variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist theories in concentrated form," guilty of "betraying Marxism-Leninism" and making Yugoslavia "dependent on so-called aid from the United States" and, thereby, having "exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle." This Moscow manifesto even shouted that:

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the Socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries \* \* \*. Further exposure of the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists, and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties. [Our emphasis.]

How enlightening! While denouncing Tito for taking American economic help, Khrushchev and Mikoyan continue their efforts to get \$2 billion of long-term credits from the U.S. Government and Wall Street with which to modernize the generally backward Soviet electronics, automation machinery, and chemical industries. Neutrals, like India, Ghana, and the United Arab Republic should—especially on this score—ponder very seriously this Soviet condemnation of Tito.



The Moscow conference attitude towards Tito reflects Khrushchev's feeling of new strength. The Kremlin resents Tito's influence and organizing role in the camp of the so-called neutrals. Chinese Communist pressure may also account for some of the extreme sharpness. But there is another and more decisive factor. It is in the very nature of Soviet communism not to permit any Communist Party to have even the slightest degree of real independence from domination by the CPSU which the 1960 manifesto characterized as "the main force," as "the most experienced vanguard," as "the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement," as "the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international Communist movement."

Even the slightest concession towards independence, and away from total control by the Soviet Party might serve as an example for other parties to ask the same or even greater liberties. It would be fatal for Moscow to grant that. It would jeopardize the highly centralized and airtight Soviet control of "international" communism. Without such total control by the Soviet Party, the worldwide Communist movement could never serve as the unswerving tool of the Kremlin. We stress this point, because it applies with equal force to the U.S. Communist Party which is more than ever an abject and total tool of the Kremlin rulers.

The Moscow manifesto's overall approach to the world crisis is rather sinister. It pits the Communist, or what it calls the "Socialist," world as against the democratic world which it disdainfully brands as "capitalist" and "imperialist." More than that. The signers of the manifesto arrogate for themselves the right and duty to speak in the name of a whole new world. Here the Communist "wave of the future" is already battering the entire free world.

In part, this insolent pretension to analysis and prophecy is based on glaring falsehoods, bluff, and self-deception, in part, on the increased economic and military strength of the Iron Curtain empire; in part, also on the complacency, confusion, and divisions in the Western World. And yes, in no small part, on the economic recession which has gripped our country. The Communist leaders attach the greatest significance to our steel production hitting a 22-year low and to several million Americans being unemployed. The Moscow manifesto gives the following economic basis for the Communist worldwide offensive:

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. \* \* \* The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today.

Of one thing we can be sure. The Communist Parties of all countries and particularly the Communist Party of the United States of America will prepare the necessary plans and engage in every possible activity to take advantage of these difficulties.

Here is the significance of Moscow's call to the Communist Parties to step up their penetration of the free trade unions. Under Moscow's direction, world communism will seek to exploit such issues as unemployment, automation problems, tax and armament burdens, in order to subvert our social fabric and strengthen the Soviet world position. New "united front" maneuvers are being prepared by the Kremlin-operated so-called World Federation of Trade Unions

(WFTU) to infiltrate and disrupt the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Particularly, in the ranks of free labor will the Communists be tireless advocates of unilateral disarmament by the Western Powers, so-called general disarmament without international inspection, the elimination of Western overseas bases, and the entire fraudulent Soviet peace program which aims only to cripple and destroy the democratic countries' resistance to aggression.

The Communist Parties will step up their efforts to establish so-called united fronts with democratic Socialist parties. The Communists will go to every length to penetrate the pacifist organizations and exploit sincere nonresistants, conscientious objectors, test-ban committees, and peace-loving intellectuals and scientists—under the false flag of promoting peace but actually serving the aims of Soviet aggression and domination.

The Communists in our midst will promise everything to anyone who wittingly or otherwise is prepared to join with them on any specific issue which they can exploit for their own subversive purposes to advance the interests of Soviet imperialism.

The manifesto emphasizes the determination of the Communist Parties already in power and those still aspiring to power to expand their activities in the countries which recently gained their national independence or are still struggling to win it. This drive will be conducted under two flags: (1) direct Soviet economic intervention and (2) bitter racist propaganda. As shown in the Congo, the Communists will engage in "hate the whites" agitation and a drive against "neocolonialism" in order to discredit and sabotage all economic, educational, and technological assistance provided by the democracies. Since our country has been the most generous contributor to the efforts of the newly established nations to develop their economies and raise their living standards, the Moscow manifesto calls upon all Communist parties especially in the underdeveloped countries to make America the main target of such attacks.

The stepped-up Soviet economic action abroad and further industrial development at home should not be taken as a shift by Moscow to reliance on so-called peaceful economic rather than military weapons. For Communists, there is no either/or. Communists always combine their weapons. Besides, the stronger Soviet industry is, the more powerful and aggressive the military machine Moscow can build; the more Soviet economic penetration abroad, the better can the ground be prepared for the infiltration, subversion, and conquest of the "aided" lands. In Communist strategy, the Red flag follows trade.

With doctrinal leadership and organizational control of the international Communist movement very firmly in the hands of the Soviet Communist Party, Khrushchev will be the principal strategist and undisputed leader in extending and deepening the cold war. Moscow will concentrate its heaviest fire against efforts by the free world to cooperate in defense and economic undertakings. This manifesto, patterned and tailored by Moscow for national and international civil war in the nuclear and space age, will undoubtedly be indorsed by the next, the 22d, Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.



Our country and all other freedom-loving peoples will have to meet this Communist strategy directly and actively. Passivity, complacency, and lack of vigilance can lead only to national surrender and suicide. The challenge hurled at the free world—particularly at our country by the 1960 Moscow declaration does not stop at dividing and disarming us by means of one or another ruse. The manifesto does not insult or threaten us over the exclusion of Communist China from the United Nations. In fact, this problem—along with the entire role of the United Nations—is not even mentioned in the manifesto. The implications of the challenge and threat are even more serious, as thus emphasized:

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anticommunism \* \* \* and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

There is much to be done in order to meet this challenge and defeat the threat. First of all, we must realize and make clear to the people that the world crisis today is not one over markets, profits, spheres of influence, or forms of economic structure and organization. The world struggle today is not between "capitalism" and communism in the classical sense of the word, but between human freedom and totalitarian tyranny, between democracy (with all its imperfections) and Communist dictatorship. At the present juncture of world history, every policy which serves and strengthens freedom is, ipso facto, positively anti-Communist.

Totalitarian communism must be fully exposed as an ultrareactionary order. Communism masquerades as a progressive social order; in reality, it is a gigantic fraud employed to take away from the people the gains and advances in liberty and individual dignity secured through centuries of uphill struggle.

We can and should systematically and continually expose the weaknesses and inequities inherent in communism as a totalitarian economy. We must show that our free economy, with all its shortcomings, is far more humane, far more socially progressive, and does much more than the Soviet economy to make life fuller and happier for the people.

The policies of the Moscow manifesto are the binding instructions and imperative directives for the Communist Party in the United States for some time to come. Only by understanding fully the sinister aims of the Moscow manifesto—in all its implications—can we counteract and defeat the Communist enemy within and its master in the Kremlin.

Senator DODD. Mr. Lovestone, I must interrupt. We will have to recess. The Senate will be in session at 12 o'clock. I hope this will not inconvenience you. Your statement is very interesting.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I will be glad to adjust myself to your time and schedule.

Senator DODD. Is 2 o'clock or 2:30 all right with you?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I will be here at 2 or 2:30, as you set the time.

Senator DODD. You see, we cannot sit when the Senate is in session unless we ask for permission. We will ask for permission. I think

it is important that we hear you fully. I have questions, and I think Senator Keating will have questions.

Two thirty.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, a recess was taken until 2:30 p.m., of the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator DODD. The hearing will come to order.

Mr. Lovestone, I wonder if we may ask you to return on another day to complete your testimony. The storm has kept many people away from the Capitol, including some who have expressed a desire to hear you.

Of course, I shall order, and do so order, that your statement in full be included in the record of this hearing but, as I said earlier, I have some questions and I think Senator Keating and perhaps other members of the subcommittee will have some questions and therefore I should like to have you return the first of next week. I have other engagements Monday but perhaps you could come on Tuesday. We will get in touch with you about a mutually agreeable date.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I shall be very glad to come back whenever you desire. I should appreciate a little advance notice. Thank you, Senator.

Senator DODD. The hearing then will be postponed to a date to be announced later.

(Whereupon, at 2:45 p.m., the hearing was adjourned to be resumed at the call of the Chair.)



## ANALYSIS OF 1960 MOSCOW MANIFESTO

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1961

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL  
SECURITY ACT, AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY  
LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:50 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Present: Senators Hruska and Johnston.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director, and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The subcommittee will come to order.

This is a continuation of a hearing which had been previously scheduled, but because of the severe natural elements which came along one afternoon we turned up short of a reporter, and we were compelled to put the hearing over until today.

Because of the illness of Senator Dodd, who was expected to preside this morning, the Senator from Nebraska will conduct the hearing.

Mr. Lovestone, it is good of you to adjust your schedule to accommodate this changed order of things, and we are glad to have you here.

Now, as I understand it and as I remember it, you had completed most of your statement before we had adjourned the last time, and there remained only two or three or four pages, maybe five, which had not been read, but they are included in the record as though they had been read. So we are now in the process of having you respond to such questions as might be put by counsel or by the members of the committee.

And I should like to start, Mr. Lovestone, by asking you to give us your views on the news reports that all Communist parties are now equal, and that Moscow no longer claims leadership in the movement, that Moscow no longer claims the predominant position. Would you like to give us your views on that subject?

Mr. LOVESTONE. This problem is as old as the entire concept of the world Communist organization, Senator. At the very foundation of the Comintern, Lenin always insisted that "we are all equal." And, of course, as you know, some can be more equal than others. And that has been the situation in the history of the Communist International where, in various forms and different stages, the principle of the relationship of subservience of all parties to the Russian party has been maintained.



Let me examine it as it has been raised most recently. The argument was made first of all that the manifesto adopted in November and December of last year in Moscow uses the term "vanguard" but not "head". Well, this is a rather weak argument, because "vanguard" represents a more "moral" approach, and so-called "head" is mechanical.

And the Soviet leadership under Khrushchev has tried very hard to put a cover of politeness on its terms of reference to other parties and its terms of cooperation with other parties.

This is an attempt, so to say, to restore the days of Lenin, when the authority of the Russian Communist Party was based primarily on its great moral prestige as the victor, rather than in the days of Stalin, when the base of "respect"—if I may use that term in quotation marks—for the Russian Party was Stalin's power.

Now, another argument is made that they have only annual conferences today, they don't have a regular party machinery, which shows that everybody is alike. This is a hollow argument, because the membership that has remained in the Communist movement all these years and the new type of membership that is being attracted today is a type which is very pliable, very malleable; they don't need anything more than an annual conference to remind them as to who is the real authority.

Now, the Russians themselves want to hide and cover their domination. They need it for the legal protection of their Communist parties. Can you imagine the effect on the American party in court if you could bring in or I could bring in or any citizens could bring in a statement that "Khrushchev states this is my party, this is my auxiliary?" It is silly. They wouldn't do that. They are not that foolish. They make mistakes, but not that type of mistakes.

Senator HRUSKA. Isn't it true, Mr. Lovestone, that Khrushchev said, "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not lead other parties, there are no superior and subordinate parties in the Communist movement, it is impossible to lead all Socialist and Communist parties from a single center." Isn't that what you are saying, namely, that they seek to cover their position of real leadership?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right. Nobody can lead mechanically from any center. But what you have is a center where you get the signals, where you get the orders. And no one alive, no correspondent or any newspaper or press agency, can show a single instance where a single Communist Party or a single leader of any single Communist Party has differed from Moscow and hasn't been given the gate. And by "gate" I mean the gate to a cemetery and not the gate to a walk in the woods.

Let me go a little further. There is a new element in the entire relationship today. People talk a lot about the cold war, but nobody has bothered to define what the cold war is. Up to a certain point in the history of the Communist International you have a sort of dichotomy: the Soviet Government was legal, formal, it stealthily and quietly financed the Communist parties, but didn't openly organize revolutions, didn't openly engage in subversive activities, didn't openly plead for the overthrow of governments with which it had diplomatic, peaceful, friendly relations officially.

But after the war, when Russian power became much greater, the Soviet Government entered a new stage of its foreign relations. It began in regard to China. It signed a pact of peace and friendship with the Chiang Kai-shek government.

Under cover of that "peace and friendship" pact they organized a subversion of the government with which they were dealing. Under cover of that diplomatic arrangement they gave military assistance to overthrow the government. And more and more today we have what is called the cold war, which simply means that in addition to the Communist International, to the Communist parties, in addition to the stealthy arrangement by the Soviet Government as to financing them and directing them, there is an open revolutionary, subversive role by the Soviet Government.

No truly friendly government does that. That is the cold war. And in such a situation the Communist International and the relationship between the parties take on new forms.

Let me read you a very interesting formulation given by the Red Star, which is the official organ of the Red army. It is given by Chernov, who is a political man. And he says:

Under the complicated conditions of World War II the old organizational forms of the International Communist movement proved to be unworkable. Therefore, in May 1943, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern adopted the decision to dissolve the Communist International.

You see, it proved to be unworkable, they had to get new forms of organization.

Mr. Chernov continues:

This naturally did not mean that, as N. S. Khrushchev put it so well, the Communists could all go to their national "quarters" and retreat into their shells \* \* \*.

\* \* \* the basis of unity and cohesion is the observance by every party of the jointly decided evaluations and conclusions concerning the joint tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism \* \* \*.

Now, this is their approach. And they don't deny it one bit.

And by the way, let me say to you, at the last Moscow conference the Russians thanked the other parties for calling them leaders. And they thanked the other parties for being appreciative of their work. They say, "it means a lot of difficulties for us, hard work." They don't mind that, because as long as they can call the signals the game is theirs, and that is the game they are playing.

And I want to emphasize that the game they are playing is not for marbles but for tombstones. It is a game for keeps and not for fun.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lovestone, you quoted Chernov there. What were you quoting from, an article or a speech?

Mr. LOVESTONE. This is an article. I will tell you the exact date. It appeared in the Red Star on January 13, 1961, this year.

Mr. SOURWINE. Under the name of Chernov?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Under the name of Chernov. The Red Star is the official political policy organ of the Red army. And it gives an explanation of why they changed forms of relationship, outward forms, for different periods in the activities and structure of the world Communist movement.

You have raised a very important question here, Senator. I have read in the New York Times and other papers a statement that since the Moscow conference at the end of November and beginning of



December, Khrushchev has changed his line. He now wants negotiations. The conference didn't want negotiations.

I want to say this to you, without making any personal attacks on anybody, I couldn't disagree more with any statement that has been in the press.

First of all, the Moscow manifesto, it is said, did not call for negotiations.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say "this one." I take it you are referring to the New York Times article by Harrison Salisbury on January 29, 1961?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is exactly the one I am referring to, January 29, this year.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is the article in which Mr. Salisbury has stated that Khrushchev "has 'resigned' as head of what the Communists have been calling 'the invincible camp of Socialist countries'?"

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is correct. That is the one I am referring to, and that is the one I want to take issue with and document my reply.

The Moscow conference adopted two documents, one a manifesto, a program of action, and the other a peace appeal. In the manifesto there was very little said about negotiations, because that is a program for the Communist Parties and not for governments. In the peace appeal, which was issued to everybody, they specifically emphasized support for the Soviet Union in regard to its negotiations with other powers.

Let me just read you one or two paragraphs of this peace appeal to show that the story as reported in the press has no foundation in fact.

The manifesto—the "peace" appeal, rather, says:

The peoples have welcomed the Soviet proposals for total and completely controlled disarmament which were warmly supported by all Socialist countries. Who is opposed to the implementation of these proposals? The governments of imperialist states led by the United States, instead of controlled disarmament, or proposing controls over armament, are trying to make the disarmament talks futile.

The same peace appeal continues:

Calling upon the peoples of the governments, the struggle for the relaxation of international tension—

this is from the Moscow manifesto, Khrushchev didn't say anything new or different in his January 6 speech. As a matter of fact some of the formulations of Khrushchev in the January 6 speech are even sharper than the manifesto. The peace appeal continues—

demand the conclusion of the peace treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarized free city.

Here is where they deal with the problem of negotiations.

Let me go further. There has just been held a meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. That meeting adopted the policy for the Soviet Party. That meeting adopted the resolution proposed by Khrushchev. That meeting could not do anything else except what Khrushchev wanted, and Khrushchev will not do anything else except what that meeting decided. And here is what the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, as released on January 18, says as to the conference:

The results of the 1960 conference, the most representative in the history of the world Communist movement, constitute a visual manifestation of the unbreakable cohesion of the Communist workers parties on the basis of Marxism Leninism, of their firm resolve to continue guarding as the apple of their eye the international proletarian solidarity, unity, and fraternal relationship.

Now "solidarity, unity and fraternal relationship" sound very pious, but in the arsenal of communism it is anything but piety.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you will pardon me, there is another quotation from Mr. Salisbury's column in the New York Times of January 29. I want to be sure that your comment covers this also.

He wrote, quoting Mr. Khrushchev:

"It is impossible to lead all the Socialist countries and Communist Parties from any single center," Mr. Khrushchev declared. "It is impossible and what it more it is not necessary."

Mr. LOVESTONE. I couldn't agree more with Mr. Khrushchev. It is physically impossible to lead, in a detailed mechanical sense, from a single center, a world organization. They have found in Russia that it is even physically impossible to lead the economic system of Russia from a single center in Moscow, and they have had to engage in some decentralization. But overall, there is a centralizer of the decentralization. And that centralizer is, as Khrushchev himself said when he talked about the watches in the January 6 speech, that you have got to synchronize the clocks of the different movements.

And if one party goes too fast you bring it up to the right time, and if another party goes too slow you bring it up to the right time. He didn't say who brings up and who sets the clocks, but everybody knows that the clock that strikes in the Kremlin is the clock that is listened to here, as it strikes over there it is going to strike us over here. And that is the system of organization.

Now, they are not going to say they do it that way, they are going to deny it. If you examine Stalin's views, Stalin, as far back as 1927, when the American delegation asked him, "do you control the American Communist Party," Stalin said, "No, that is nonsense. The American Communists wouldn't allow themselves to be controlled."

Well, I can tell you that the American Communist Party couldn't rent headquarters without the decision and permission of the Communist International. Now, at that time it was done by cable, now it is done by nod—they don't have even to nod today, it is conditioned, it is almost a Pavlov formula, they have become so conditioned that they don't wait for a nod, it is almost instinctive. And if Mr. Salisbury don't see that, perhaps a few sessions at the Lenin Institute might teach him.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the same newspaper article Mr. Salisbury says:

The Soviet Union's withdrawal from its position as "head of the Socialist camp" involves a deep and longstanding personal dispute between Mr. Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung, head of the Chinese Communist Party.

And he continues:

At the November 1960 meeting, Mr. Khrushchev insisted that this formulation be dropped.

Now, what is your comment on that?



Mr. LOVESTONE. That is absolute nonsense. Let me quote to you from a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Soviet Party, the resolution dealing with the Moscow conference. And I quote the Khrushchev resolution:

The plenum of the Soviet Union Central Committee notes with deep satisfaction the unanimous appraisal by the participants in the conference of the services of our party to the international Communist movement, the recognition of its activities as an example—

I emphasize that—

as an example of the practical applications of the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalists.

This is the basis of their work.

Now, as a matter of fact the Communist Party of China has time and again spoken of the Russian party as the head of the International, not the vanguard. And the Communist Party of China would not think, as much as maybe they might like to, they would not think of any open challenge to the Russian party in its leadership of the International.

And examination of the manifesto and the program adopted in Moscow shows clearly that the Russian party line was the one which was accepted, and accepted unanimously; and they stress in the manifesto adopted, the unanimity of the decisions and the binding character. And now, what else do you expect from leadership?

Leadership doesn't mean that Khrushchev is going to tell the undertaker how to bury Mr. Dennis. Leadership doesn't mean that Mr. Khrushchev is going to tell the secretary of the Communist Party of the United States what to eat for breakfast. He may help pay for his breakfast in an underground, stealthy way, but he doesn't give any menu details.

Leadership means giving the direction in which the party is to travel and seeing to it that the party echoes and supports every move made by the Russians.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Khrushchev told the Communist Party of the United States when and with whom to replace Mr. Dennis while he was still alive, didn't he?

Mr. LOVESTONE. If Mr. Khrushchev tells the Communist Party of the United States to eat grass and say they are eating banana shortcake, they will eat grass and say they are eating banana shortcake.

There is nothing that anybody in the Communist Party of this country or elsewhere can do to challenge Mr. Khrushchev, or the party which he leads; there isn't the slightest chance in the world. They cannot challenge him; but I want to remind you, Mr. Khrushchev is so busy denying through some correspondents, or some correspondents denying for him, that he leads the Communist Party of this country or the others that in his address of January 6 he went so far as to discuss details of the situation in the American Communist Party, mentioning some nondescript, third-rater like Gates as a revisionist whom you have to punish.

What was Gates' crime? He raised the possibility of some independent opinion. He raised the question of a critical attitude in an anemic way.

On he went. And Mr. Khrushchev, who is so busy telling the Russian farmers how to raise pigs, telling his commissars in the

Ukraine how to prevent the situation which he admits did happen—more than half the crops in the Ukraine being stolen from the field—he is so busy, yet he finds time to go into the details of the situation in the American Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have one more question to ask about this Salisbury article. He wrote:

In the same direction, Moscow describes the November meeting as a "forum" rather than as a congress. The term "forum" implies a gathering at which a divergency of views can be expressed without the necessity of establishing complete uniformity.

Would you comment on that?

Mr. LOVESTONE. You know, they have forums in Moscow, and they have a right to a difference of opinion in Moscow, and they have a right to have a difference of opinion to some extent in the Communist Party of the United States, but the difference of opinion in both cases revolves only around how to carry out the instructions or the orders given, and nothing more.

Now, there was a forum, and there were instructions at that conference, surely. Let me say this to you. The Communist movement is a movement with inhuman objectives, but it consists of people. And as long as you have people you will have differences. The problem is not whether they have differences, the problem is whether the differences are permissive, whether the differences are encouraged from the point of view of amending or correcting policy, or having a say as to how policies should be adopted.

Let me also answer by merely quoting from the manifesto itself as adopted, with Khrushchev's initiative and support.

I now read from the December 7 issue of Pravda.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in Socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the role of the world Communist movement.

The example of the Soviet Communist Party and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is it that you are reading from?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I am reading from the official Communist Manifesto adopted in Moscow as proposed by Mr. Khrushchev and the Soviet Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have two more questions concerning the news articles, and then I will leave this subject.

These two questions deal with a news story which appeared in the Washington Post of January 20, written by Mr. Henry Shapiro. This article reports that Khrushchev "is giving up one-man control of world communism," and that "all Communist parties are equal and that Moscow no longer claims leadership of the movement."

Would you comment on that?



Mr. LOVESTONE. The only comment I could make is that every official statement of policy adopted by any gathering of Communists in any part of the world refutes that.

Secondly, that every action of every Communist Party outside the Soviet Union refutes that, and that the conception of leadership or domination in the sense of one individual sitting and giving orders mechanically or pushing buttons is a false conception; that is not leadership in an organization. That cannot be the leadership. Leadership in an organization is: who calls the tune, who pays for the operation, who has the veto power over operations, who has the last word in deciding who shall be leaders of parties, who has the last word in deciding what policy a party in any part of the world should follow. And there I say, if you examine the facts, you will find that this report you mentioned is a fanciful report, it is, at best, wishful thinking—and I emphasize the words, “at best”—and I can say, without questioning the motives of any correspondent, that nothing they could write or do could serve the interests of Communist imperialism more than such falsehoods being peddled in our papers.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to ask you for comment on just one final quotation from Mr. Shapiro's article:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not lead other parties. There is no superior and subordinate party in the Communist movement.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, if that were true, Tito would never have been out. And if that were true Tito could have come back. Why doesn't Tito come back? Because he is afraid the moment he comes back they will cut his throat.

Now, I have no objection to one Communist cutting another Communist's throat. Perhaps, if they were busy doing that, it would save the world a lot of trouble. But Tito is engaged in self-preservation here. He won't go back because he knows that will happen to him.

Oh, he will be made the equal of Khrushchev, sure. Equal to what? One corpse equals another corpse, except that Khrushchev is no corpse. But Tito, politically—and I am putting that generously, it might even be physically—would become a corpse once he were to join. The entire history of the Communist movement under its various forms of organization and stages fortifies that conclusion. The manifesto and everything I have read to you refute the Shapiro analysis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you equate or see a parallel between the ostensible breakup of the Comintern and the present situation with a disclaimer of world leadership?

Mr. LOVESTONE. There is a lot in what you suggest. The 1943 dissolution, so-called dissolution, was made in order to satisfy the Allies, Britain, our country—Russia was desperately in need of help, and it gave a good talking point to certain types of, well, do-gooders, and soft hearts, and also soft heads.

You see, Russia has changed. There is no doubt in my mind that if, in the interests of Soviet imperialism, it were necessary for Khrushchev to come out and say “There is no international Communist organization, there is no international Communist movement,” he would do it tomorrow.

He can say anything he wants to in order to further his own interests, and those are the interests of Soviet imperialism. I have no doubt that if they felt they could hoodwink the administration of our country, the new administration, into giving them concessions on Berlin, they would say: “Well, Berlin is worth such a statement.” But it doesn't mean a thing, it wouldn't mean a thing, because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the example, it is the vanguard, it is the steel contingent.

And let me say this to you. The Chinese Communists have raised some questions, and they were vanquished—despite all the peace pleas, and despite the fact that the Soviet Union needs Communist China very badly; the important fact is that if Communist China were no longer Communist and a free China you would have an entirely new world picture.

Despite that, they have had to knuckle under and take it; and they resent it, but they take it.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Lovestone, in that connection there are reports of widespread famine in China. Will that have any effect on the Soviet-Chinese relationships?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes. It only emphasizes the fact that the Chinese Communist Party is weaker, so much weaker than the Russian party, and that makes it a little less equal than the Russian party. You can rest assured that Khrushchev will not give any aid even to Communist China unless he is asked, and when he does that it will not be for humanitarian reasons or that he is interested in saving Chinese lives, but for political reasons only because he is interested in tightening his grip on Chinese policy.

And the famine, in my opinion, is much more serious than the people here realize.

And incidentally, if I may digress, in a way, for a moment about newspaper reporting. The other day I read the Montreal French paper. One of its leading correspondents had spent 6 weeks in Communist China, and he came back with the most glowing picture, “no more famines, no more floods, no more fleas, no more flies.” But scarcely had the paper gone on the newstand when the Communist Chinese regime itself admitted that they were having all these troubles with flood and drought.

Of course, they blame everything on nature, they didn't blame it on man, they didn't blame it on their Commune system, which is a very crude operation—the Russians criticize it themselves by saying “you are going too fast.”

But the Russians didn't mind if they were being weakened by the Commune system, they didn't care.

Mr. SOURWINE. They may not have blamed it on the Commune system, but they have just turned back millions of Chinese from the Commune system to individuals tilling the land.

Mr. LOVESTONE. They had to do it. But they didn't do it officially. They always say the party line is right, the people who carry out the party line are wrong, and they are made scapegoats.

The Commune system was a disaster. I am not saying that there were no natural elements involved, there were. But the role of the elements in the calamity which has befallen the Chinese people is only one factor. The decisive factor is the breakdown in the com-



munes due to their mistakes and due to their phony industrialization—which, by the way, they are giving up, they are slowing down, they can't take it.

Senator HRUSKA. Have the Chinese made requests yet for assistance of Russia on account of this famine?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I don't think they have publicly. In my opinion there must be negotiations going on to give them some help, because, you see, the Chinese Communists, while they are starving their people, they are not worried by their people, 50 million Chinese do not mean anything to the Mao Tse-tung regime—they continue to export certain types of food from their country. But they are getting food from Canada, Australia, and Russia. However, Russia has a very serious food problem too.

Let me express this. The bankruptcy of the Khrushchev agricultural policy is stark and clear. If a political leader in a democracy responsible for a policy would have the policy fail as dismally as Khrushchev did in the agrarian field, he would be in political limbo. But not in Russia. In Russia he goes after his acquaintances, and when he is through with his acquaintances he goes after his friends and makes them scapegoats.

The Russians are not in a position to give their Chinese comrades too much, because it is the policy of the Soviet Government to keep an enormous reserve in case of a war.

And that they would scarcely touch even for their strong partner, Mao Tse-tung. They may put out feelers to us, they might release the fliers, and then there will be a movement to give food from here, we might then get that request. And if I may be so bold, Senator, as to make a suggestion, I suggest that in case we get such a request—I am in favor of giving them help, but you know how? Under the formula of Herbert Hoover, you set up an independent agency, an American agency goes in there and gives food to the people regardless of the political opinion and party affiliation. But that they will never allow.

Senator HRUSKA. In fact they didn't allow it in Russia during the war when they had the lend-lease program.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Senator HRUSKA. Nor the postwar lend-lease.

Mr. LOVESTONE. You are absolutely correct, they did not allow it. And they won't allow it today.

But we can say, "Gentlemen, you are supposed to be followers of Lenin, why don't you adopt the Lenin policy in the matter of accepting famine relief?"

They wouldn't dare, because they don't trust us. But they trust their own people even less, because their own people know them better than we do.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Lovestone, in your opinion where and under what issues will the Communist Party in the United States concentrate in the coming months in accordance with the Moscow Manifesto, and where will they put their chief activity and their emphasis?

Mr. LOVESTONE. First of all, economic unemployment. And secondly, the so-called peace issue of banned tests. And thirdly, they will say, "Let's stop the cold war, we are tired of the cold war, let's be friends." And in this way they will penetrate quite a number of well-meaning intellectual circles, and public spirited groups, because every-

body wants peace and everybody is tired of the cold war. But they will never say that the Soviet Government as a government should stop subversive activities. That they will never say. They will deny they have subversive activities; and yet you can produce their own literature, and I can produce it here, where they admit that they are engaged in subversive activities, and where they admit that the whole "peaceful coexistence" operation is for subversion.

So I think we ought to watch the unemployment situation, this atomic testing, and the general peace business and disarmament. They will make their appeals along these lines.

And if and when Khrushchev comes here in March I think he will give them new signals, he won't send a letter of instruction, "Dear Mr. X, Y, Z, these are my orders to you." That is not the way it is done, to oblige correspondents. He just makes a speech, and they know what Khrushchev says is law.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Lovestone, in that regard, what can we expect will be the Soviet policy during the coming months in the United Nations, upon what points will they concentrate?

Mr. LOVESTONE. In my opinion they will concentrate upon disrupting the United Nations—I don't think Khrushchev will take his other shoe off right away, that is not coming—they are going to try to nurse and nurture illusions as to our new administration, a new arrangement, a new opportunity. But they will give us nothing.

Senator HRUSKA. Will they attack, for example, the Secretary General again?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, they will, they will not let up on that and they will absolutely work for his destruction.

And I will tell you why I say it. The Soviet Government was sure it had the Congo, and the Congo slipped through its fingers. And they blame some of the United Nations actions, Hammarskjöld's leadership in getting so-called neutrals in the Afro-Asian bloc at that moment. They will never forgive that.

And the next thing, they cannot possibly allow the present relationship of forces in the United Nations to continue, because they feel that they are stronger now with the help of neutrals and so-called neutrals in the United Nations, and they want to grab control. And if they do that, that is the end of Hammarskjöld. Some people may agree or disagree on a particular question with the Secretary General of the United Nations, but I think we can all agree that he wants to preserve his own life as the head of United Nations. He will never be reelected again, the Russians won't put him in, unless he were to go over to them. But that is not in sight, so I think they will continue their bitter hostility and fierce opposition to him.

I want to say with that: I don't think they will open up with cursing, I think they will open up with loving. But you know what is said about the bear's embrace: the bear's embrace is most dangerous when it is closest and firmest to you. And that is what we have to be on guard against in Washington.

But they will give us nothing, get that straight, they will give us soft words and soft soap, and then they want to hang us out on the washline, but we have got to hang, not they. And that they will stand by.

Senator JOHNSTON. What should be our position?



Mr. LOVESTONE. That is quite a big question, Senator. I will tell you what I would say. First of all, it is not a question of competing with the Russians in insults. I would treat them with very polite words, but I would give them nothing.

Secondly, I would make demands on them. For example, you take the colonial question. They have picked up some weaknesses in our armor or some of our allies. Of course, we get the blame for the whole thing. I would take the colonial question and turn it on them: Who is the biggest colonial power in the world today? Who has satellites, who exploits them? Who occupies countries, who has so many bases without the permission or the vote of the people? And I would take the offensive against them on that score.

The next thing, we now have a new USIA head, and we have a new administration. I think the time has come for us to take the offensive on the economic field. The American unemployed worker gets more than the fully employed skilled Russian worker. All this talk about austerity and honesty in Russia must be exposed, and we must expose the corruption and the curse of bureaucracy in that system. We should show to the world, not only propagandawise, but through facts and figures that our system is a superior system as a free system.

Next, if you want to have any effective or any possibility of effective negotiations with the Russians, you have to deal with them on the basis of them being convinced that you have superior strength, and you don't have it merely in your filing cabinet; you are ready if necessary to go to the firing field. I wouldn't abuse them, I wouldn't insult them, it is unnecessary. First of all, we can't win a contest of insults and abuse with these fellows, they were born abusers and then they got special training. But I would just be firm and forceful and powerful on various positions.

Take the case of Berlin. I wouldn't give them a half an inch in Berlin, because if you give them a half inch, the insects come in, and once the termites get in, well, we are out. You take the finest bowl of soup and you can serve it in the finest bowl, and all you need is one little Communist hair in it, or one little Communist bug, and the soup is inedible.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, there has been a proposal made, hasn't there, in regard to Berlin, that the United States cut its forces in half, and that the U.S.S.R. cut its forces in half. Would that alleviate things now?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think, Senator, that would be a catastrophe. Let me go into that a moment.

You see, that is like going into a sausage factory and saying that the sausage consists of two equal parts, one horse and one rabbit. But they are not so equal, as you know.

No. 1, they would have the biggest force left right in the proximity; all they have to do is cross the border and they are right there, whereas we have the ocean between us.

Secondly, psychologically, it would have a disastrous effect on all of Europe, because the Europeans would then say, "This is only the beginning."

Thirdly, if we leave only a handful, then you know what could happen to us? The East Germans could have some sort of a police action taken, and one fine morning we would wake up to the announce-

ment, "East German police today surrounded the 1,500 or 2,000 American soldiers, and everybody is peaceful, and the people are working and it is all over." What could we do then? We would be faced with an accomplished fact, the horses stolen from the stable. We could say it will never happen again, but there is only one Berlin, and only one Germany, and only one Europe, and they are all organically tied up.

So I think that proposal would be absolutely disastrous for us.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think you hold the same view about the Berlin situation that I do, that Berlin today is really the heart, so to speak, of all Europe. Should you weaken the heartbeat in Berlin you would weaken the whole of the European nations as far as their being with the West is concerned. Isn't that true?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I agree with you completely, you would weaken them fatally. And I will tell you why.

When the Korean war started, and we were losing at the beginning, the trend in Europe was disastrous. But when we began to hit back and we were winning, we showed firmness and determination, the trend in Europe was reversed completely. And American prestige was at its high point at that time when we were winning. If we yield Berlin, the people of West Germany will say, "Today it is Berlin. Tomorrow it is Frankfurt." And the people of Paris will say, "Today it is Frankfurt. Tomorrow it is Paris." And the people of London will say, "We would rather live under the Kremlin than be in a crematorium."

Let's be realists about it. Our allies respect us as long as we merit the respect of the enemy. And the respect of the enemy means fear by the enemy. And I repeat that Khrushchev knows his strength and his weaknesses and our strength and our weaknesses much better than we do. And as long as he realizes that he has got to face the risk of his own country being wiped off the map economically, he will not attack Berlin. He will nibble; he will pressure, but he won't make the attack. But if we let him nibble and we encourage him and we say to him, "You can just bite off a little piece here, but don't bite more," and he has got his teeth in it, he will continue biting. If you then try to take his teeth out you are in a worse position than you were before.

Senator JOHNSTON. So your position, then, is that we must hold onto Berlin and not weaken in the least, because if we do we are liable to lose all of Europe; isn't that true?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I will go further than that. If we weaken we are not "liable" to lose it; we are very likely to lose it.

Senator JOHNSTON. And we wouldn't be long about it?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No; it wouldn't be long, because it is like a snowball; it is like an avalanche. Some people say, "You have got to be realists," and "realists" means you have got to yield to the other fellow; you have got to accept the other fellow's position when you want to avoid an issue.

Senator HRUSKA. Don't we have a little bit of that in connection with the admission of Red China to the United Nations right here in this country? What are your views on the admission of Red China to the United Nations, Mr. Lovestone?



Mr. LOVESTONE. I think it would be a major disaster for our country if we were to admit Red China to the United Nations, if we were to allow it to be admitted—and I will tell you in a moment why. There is an Afro-Asian bloc there. That bloc doesn't have a very effective leadership. That bloc is divided. In that bloc there is an enormous amount of influence exercised by Tito, who, though he supports Moscow on every practical question, still is a sort of a warning to Nasser: "Listen, be careful; you know you can do business with Khrushchev but be a little careful."

If Communist China comes in, Communist China becomes the leader of the Afro-Asian bloc. And, let me say to you, the first country where we would be weakened enormously is Japan, which is still the most important country in the Far East from the standpoint of economic and potential military strength.

What would happen to the smaller countries, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, let alone countries like Malaya, Ceylon, or Indonesia? They will say, "If the United States has thrown in the sponge, why should we stick around and get socked? There is no point in being hostile."

And there would be, not a breadline but a pushing line of everybody wanting to do business and submitting to Mao Tse-tung.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say we must not allow China in the United Nations. Do you mean we should not give up our opposition to it, or do you have in mind that there is some way in which we alone can literally stop it?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I will tell you what I wouldn't do. I wouldn't announce in advance that Communist China is sooner or later coming into the United Nations. I think that sort of talk is useless, even if that were the case. It would be useless, really dangerous.

Senator HRUSKA. Is it harmful?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is harmful. You hurt your own case and cause, assuming that is our case and cause, that we are opposed. If we are not, I think we ought to say so openly. But the argument has been made that you cannot ignore the existence of a country with this population. And here I beg leave to read a page or so that I have on this question in my original report, because I think that covers it:

Neither our country nor any other nation can ignore the existence of a country with the population, area, strategic importance, and Communist aims and activities of Mao Tse-tung's China. Our national security demands that we do not ignore it, but be ever vigilant against its subversive efforts and ever stronger to meet its potential aggression. In this light, our Government has negotiated with Chinese Communist representatives in Korea, Poland, and Switzerland. But this has not required our Government to accord the Peiping regime diplomatic recognition. Even if Communist China were to become a signatory along with other powers, let us say, to an international disarmament treaty, that would not require our Government granting Peiping diplomatic recognition. Lest we forget, years before our Government recognized the Soviet Union, we did not ignore it and we signed, jointly with it and others, the Kellogg Pact on Disarmament.

It would be a catastrophe for our country—on the basis of such differences between Moscow and Peiping—to do anything which would, in effect, help reduce, let alone eliminate, the irritations or overcome the disputes between Moscow and Peiping. Recognizing Communist China, voting it into U.N. membership, or providing it with the technological and economic assistance which Moscow cannot provide, would strengthen Peiping and thus seriously weaken our country's international position and prestige. Such steps would remove

the friction and jealousies between the two Communist giants and weld their ranks and strengthen their vast armies geared for further aggression.

And I maintain that it should be the policy of our Government not to eliminate, not to soften, not to do anything which would remove those contradictions and irritations, but rather pursue a course which would promote the contradictions in the enemy camp, just as they do against us.

Now, you will say to me, what do you say we must do at all costs?

I will tell you what I would do positively. I would say to every ally, and I would say to every country in Europe: "We consider the admission of Communist China a blow to our most vital interests, and we insist, and we will take note of your conduct, that you vote against or do not vote for;" bring it down that way; instead of yielding to the pressure of some of our weaker allies and announcing in advance that we are going to admit them anyway, they are going to come in anyway sooner or later, I would stand firmly, and I would work for this position.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say that with the knowledge, of course, Mr. Lovestone, that this Government has taken the view that the admission of Red China is a matter of representation and, that it is a question of whose credentials are to be accepted, and this must be decided at the General Assembly and, by vote, isn't that correct?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is a very interesting question you are raising. And it involves, I think, a need for a fundamental reexamination of some of the principles of diplomacy. It has been said that effective controls by the government of any country is the test for recognition, not the mere credentials, but effective control. Now, I maintain that that was all right in the days of Grotius, and that was all right even up to World War I. But something has happened in the world which invalidates that. And what is that? Today the test of effective control is no longer valid, because Communists in any country can get the assistance of a foreign government to establish a dictatorship and rule by terror, and that means effective control, and it no longer means representation but repression of the people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lovestone, I am sure I didn't get my point across. I believe you are talking about recognition in the sense that one nation recognizes another. I was referring to your statement that we should do this thing, I paraphrase you, to coerce our allies into voting against the admission of Red China in the United Nations.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I say convince them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. Now, you know that the United States has taken the position, has accepted the view that getting Red China into the United Nations is not a matter of admitting a new country to the United Nations, but is a matter of saying, Red China is truly China, China is in the United Nations, we will recognize the credentials of the Red Chinese, we will put Mao Tse-tung in, he is China, that is the present situation, is it not?

Mr. LOVESTONE. There is a division of opinion on that. I know what you say is true—

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, if it were not a matter of representation, of credentials to accept, if it were a matter of letting the new nation in, it would go before the Security Council, would it not, and we have a veto in the Security Council, and if it were a matter of letting



a new nation in, we could use that veto to keep Red China out without going through this rigamarole you were talking about of convincing others to get their votes, because if we lose—if there are two-thirds in favor of letting them in in the General Assembly, then they are in.

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is a question of what you consider the problems to be, procedural or substantive. If they are substantive, we have the veto power. If they are procedural, we can get licked on a majority basis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Even though a number of years ago an American Secretary of State said that this was a procedural problem, as you call it, is there any reason why this country couldn't reverse its stand, if it is a matter of national importance as you say it is, and declare that this is a matter of substance, and that it must be passed on by the Security Council?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think this country not only can, but must take the position that this is the most substantive question that can face United Nations, and it should take the position that no government or no regime is eligible for membership in the United Nations which (a) was imposed upon a country with the help of a foreign power; and which, (b) is against the principles of the United Nations; and (c) which is at war with the United Nations—as the Mao Tse-tung regime is today. There has never been an end to the war, there has been an armistice, a shaky one. And I think, on those three grounds, our Government should take the position that this is the most substantive matter that can confront us in the United Nations.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Lovestone, in regard to China, there is an economic pressure there at the present, is there not, an agricultural crisis?

Mr. LOVESTONE. A very deep one.

Senator HRUSKA. Will that in any way impair the effectiveness—is there any possibility, not of collapse, but of impairing its effectiveness?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No, I don't think there will be any political collapse or collapse of the regime. There will be more pressure, more purges, until all possible political opposition has been destroyed, and there is no one who has a chance to do anything effective against the government. And what is more, Mao Tse-tung may decide on another policy of so-called moderation for a few weeks, let another hundred flowers bloom, and then the people who take seriously any liberal pretensions, the moment they come up, the moment the heads of the flowers come up, he will chop them off as he did before. I don't think there will be any political collapse of that regime at all.

Senator HRUSKA. We have observed through the years that there is emphasis placed by the Moscow Communists, that the leadership of the U.S.S.R.—that there will be emphasis first by way of a ruckus in the Near East and, then there will be something in the Indonesian area, and then something in Berlin, and so on. What will the pattern be in your judgment as to a new focus of trouble, in the immediate future?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The strategy of the world Communist movement in the period when the most powerful government administration is in their hands, the Soviet Government, when that Government is the

open leader of Communist subversion, the strategy will be to keep things popping in different places and different times. And the strategy may occasionally be to divert our attention from a more intensely acute situation to a mere noisy explosion. They will plan something in Asia, they will start something in Africa, they will go a long way in Africa to make trouble. But they are in no position logistically speaking to do more than make trouble in Africa.

Where I think we are going to face the real danger is over Berlin and Germany. That is a decisive factor, no matter how much noise is made and how much powder is exploded elsewhere. And I will tell you why: because, you see, Khrushchev gave that ultimatum. That was a mistake he made. How long is he going to wait with his ultimatum? He is going to have to deliver sometime.

For example, he broke up the summit conference with the excuse of the U-2, because he felt that he couldn't deliver. He had to find some way to escape from his own ultimatum.

And I would just say that he will try to talk us out of Berlin, he will try to put us to sleep in regard to Berlin, to try to cheat us, he will try to threaten us with rockets.

But what happened yesterday with the Minuteman and Little Ham, believe me, the Russian rulers understand much better than our own people do, because they live on sputniks and luniks, they live on the noise and prestige they get from their concentration in that area. Khrushchev said at one meeting of the Central Committee that "people are complaining, 'we have got sputniks but we can't get pillows.' " Yes, that is one of the reasons they can't get pillows, because they have sputniks. In our country we can get pillows and sputniks, and we are doing it. And that has a big effect. The peoples of the world depend upon the strength of our country, and the loyalty and cooperation of our allies with us depend upon our strength first and foremost.

The respect that our opponents and adversaries have for us depends on our strength politically and morally. We are living in an age in which there is only one way to peace, power.

Senator HRUSKA. The previous international conference in Moscow was about 3 years ago, as I remember, which was not too long after sputnik, was it? Now, has world communism become stronger in the past 3 years, or has it become less strong, relatively speaking?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I must say they have become stronger, they have consolidated their ranks. And let me give you this background.

The 1957 conference was a very small affair. It was held immediately after the revolt in Hungary, where the Red Army had to march in and crush it, and the troubles in Poland, the various strikes in Poland; everywhere there was discontent, even in Russia. Khrushchev himself took the leadership in getting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to order the Red Army to march in and crush Hungary. The 1957 conference met right after the overcoming of this opposition, but they were not yet fully consolidated. The manifesto they adopted then was very mild in comparison with what they have adopted now. Since that time they have developed their missile power, they have developed their economy, with all its faults, a stronger industrial potential, and they have increased the total military strength of their alliance. I might add that they have deepened



some of the divisions in the ranks of the West. They are living psychologically and politically, in a measure, on the recession in our country. And they feel very bold and brazen. Today they are stronger; without any doubt in my mind the international Communist movement today is stronger and more dangerous. They have made gains in Africa—they don't have to organize Communist Parties, Senator, they don't need a Communist Party in the Congo yet, but they have to be in a position where they can use other people, they have got to be in a position where they can get other governments, they have to be in a position where they can have aggression by proxy or subversion by proxy. And that is what counts. And I say, they are more dangerous today than they were 3 years ago.

Senator HRUSKA. Are they stronger in America?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I would say they may not be numerically stronger in this country, but they have recouped their lines and reorganized their forces inside the unions and among intellectuals, and quite a number of people have forgotten the word "Hungary." Three years ago if you said "Hungary" the Communists would run. Today nobody bothers about mentioning it. We forgot Hungary. We forget their crimes. We are a forgiving Christian people.

Senator HRUSKA. We haven't forgotten the crime of having taken those fliers illegally and then releasing them and expecting something in return for something they should not have done in the first place.

Mr. LOVESTONE. They no doubt expect to get paid for it. You know, we have no real record of all the Americans they hold besides the fliers. They hold others as well. And so do the Chinese.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Lovestone, you have followed the ways and the status of public opinion here in this country pretty well. What impact do you think that the release of these fliers will have on the American public insofar as the standing and the prestige of the Soviet Government is concerned in this country?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think there will be many Americans who will say, "This is a good sign, the Russians are having a change of heart, we have got to discuss things with them."

And, secondly, they will say, "Let's start afresh and anew and talk with them."

But I don't think it will have a lasting effect. I think the American people are more foolproof today than they have been in many a year.

Senator HRUSKA. I certainly hope so.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I don't want to criticize the Senate or the House or any branch of the Government, but I want to say that I think the American people have got a better nose for these things than a lot of our political people have, because they have an instinctive hatred of despotism and aggression and what the Russian regime has been doing. So momentarily it might tend to soften some people, and it will be picked up by the fellow travelers and the dupes and the sincere people who want peace at any price, but I don't think it will have any lasting effect, because, in the last resort, the Russians will give us nothing.

Senator JOHNSTON. But you do reach this conclusion, I think, that there probably will be a good many people who might be lulled to sleep and think that Russia might not be so bad after all, since they let the fliers out.

Mr. LOVESTONE. You are right, Senator. This is one of those sleeping pills administered to us as a part of the Russian strategy. If you will examine Russian strategy even in the Czar's days it was a feature of Russian diplomacy to give you hot and cold, and they vary it all the time. And they operate on a psychological principle. If a fellow kicks you all the time, when he stops kicking you, you are thankful. If a friend helps you all the time and he stops for some reason or other, you begin to question his friendship. And they maneuver that way.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there any percentage in us treating them differently and being a little softer, a little more conciliatory, because of the release of these fliers in the hope that we will be able to start anew and be able to get a fresh hold here and make some progress toward disarmament and appeasement and the nuclear test, and so on?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think that we should always be ready to negotiate. But I think we should always be well prepared for negotiations. We can't refuse to negotiate, and we shouldn't refuse. And there are issues over which we should force them to negotiate. I will mention an issue in a moment. I have no objection to negotiations. I don't think we have to say, "Mr. Khrushchev, you are a murderer," we can say "Mr. Khrushchev, you voted for this resolution which meant the execution of so many millions of people." You know what I mean? You don't have to be abusive and insulting, but you have got to be clear cut in your own demands.

So I would like to suggest that we negotiate with him over the question of carrying out the agreements which were made at Yalta for free and secret elections in the countries liberated from the Hitler yoke. We should take the initiative. He made agreements to allow free secret voting—we should raise that question.

We could raise with him a number of questions as to bases that he has in a number of countries—what is he doing with those bases? He always raises this question with us, and we ought to place issues before him.

For example, on the entire question of cultural exchange I think we are being sold a lemon, and it is not a good lemon—it is not a usable lemon. It is bad enough to be given a lemon for a gold nugget, but we are being given a rotten one.

Senator HRUSKA. In what way?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No Russian comes here of his own free will, he comes here as a selected Russian. But we have Americans going in new, whom they watch, of course; and I would say cultural exchange should remove the obstacles to Russians leaving their country. I would enter into an agreement that any American that wants to go to Russia can go and any Russian who wants to come to America can also come. They will never accept that.

Senator HRUSKA. The fact is, that they do not have cultural exchange. They send well-trained emissaries here to do the jobs assigned to them when they have this so-called cultural exchange, isn't that about it?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, they send the trained seals, and we send innocents quite often. It is not an American virtue or vice. The average human is innocent, without ulterior motive. They wouldn't allow just anybody to come here, and they couldn't afford to. They have special laws against leaving the country.



Third, I might add that anybody who comes here and goes back and gives a favorable report is in trouble. I don't have it here, but I can give you the names of distinguished artists who got into trouble because they said something nice about the United States after they returned. They had to serve several years in jail for that.

The whole cultural relations program is a one-sided affair. It is not a fair deal, it is a loaded proposition.

Senator JOHNSTON. So you think it is a bad thing to have, is that right?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I wouldn't put it in that form, Senator. I would have a cultural exchange from people to people. And there can be no people to people in this situation, because their people have no right to mix with each other and discuss things even in their own country, so how could they come over here and discuss things with us in a strange land? It just can't work.

Senator HRUSKA. Getting back to this situation of whether there should be steps in this country to be conciliatory and treat the Soviets with a softer attitude, as it were—more specifically, when these two fliers came back we put a ban on any interviews of the press with them. Now I don't know what the basis of it is. If it is to spare them and their families undue interrogation by the press, that is one thing. On the other hand, if it is done from the standpoint of sparing the emphasis to the public, the emphasis of their illegal seizure in the first place, and so on, that is something else.

In that same connection as a result of that and several other things of that nature, we had a radio show, a TV show, suppressed just yesterday. It was canceled, it was postponed, obviously or ostensibly because of the attitude of some officials that we should be conciliatory, we shouldn't do anything to offend them, and so on. So the TV show that was entitled, "The Spy Next Door," was canceled for last night.

Now what about incidents of that kind? Is there any percentage in that?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think such incidents, even if they were not motivated by a desire or so-called desire not to rock the boat, have a very dangerous effect on the position of the United States, its Government, in relation to the Russians, because the Russian regime then thinks and becomes still more convinced that all they have to do is give us just a little smile, and then we give them the substance. I think those are dangerous things to do.

Now as to the fliers, I can only surmise that the Government is trying to avoid the mistakes resulting from inexperience which we had in the U-2 affair when everybody was talking and everybody was being interviewed and the wife was being interviewed and the father was being interviewed. I think there is a certain amount of protection required here. The average American newspaperman, with all due allowance for his sincerity and intelligence, is looking for a story. And he may get something out of the flier, the flier may in all innocence say something which might be of some help to the enemy. I think we should be on guard against that.

But I don't place that on the same level with the suppression or the withdrawal, even temporarily, or what not, of this television program. That is a bad mistake. You know, you can negotiate, you can be critical, you don't have to insult, but you should never give up

your own ideological position, and you should never give up your right to indict their system as one of tyranny and subversion. The moment you yield to that you are yielding your own right to exist as a democracy.

Senator HRUSKA. Of course, the fliers have been released by the Russians, so that presumably they have their freedom. And yet if they are not in a position to talk to whom they please, or to be interviewed by whom they please, is that complete freedom?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No, I am only assuming that this is a temporary condition to try to avoid some of the mistakes which were made in the handling, due to inexperience, in the U-2 affair. I am not assuming that they are shut up for life. The first thing you know, you might find that they are engaged in writing a series of articles for some magazine. I am assuming that this is only a momentary security arrangement, no more.

Senator HRUSKA. It is a good old-fashioned custom, writing magazine articles. That is part of our freedom, isn't it?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes. I have no criticism of it at all, I think they might write a series of stories to bring the facts out. But I might suggest that since they are military people they should make doubly sure that nothing which they say would be of any military value to the enemies of our country. But otherwise—I am assuming that this is a temporary arrangement requested by the Government, and in view of the tense international situation I would go along with it. That doesn't mean that we give up in the least our right to criticize, to expose; there are plenty of ways that we have to do that through the press, the radio, and television.

Senator HRUSKA. I don't know what that connection there was between withholding from the press the right to interview these fliers and, for example, the cancellation of this TV show "The Spy Next Door." I have an idea that there was a pretty close connection, because this was an official act and an official policy which was actually exercised in the situation, first of all, by holding secret the substance of the negotiations between Ambassador Thompson and the Soviet authorities and second, because there was secrecy imposed upon the fliers. I presume that that official declaration in policy, that Government and administration policy, reflected itself in the cancellation of this show last night. I have an idea it did. But I don't know. But to that extent it might be harmful, might it not?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Millions of Americans will arrive at the same conclusion that you have just given. And therefore I think the administration would be well advised—I don't speak for it, I am only using the occasion to speak to it—the administration would be well advised to act in some way to make sure that this is not the real situation.

Senator HRUSKA. I want to say for the record that I read the script of that show, "The Spy Next Door," last week before it was canceled. In fact, when it was scheduled. And pursuant to the format of that show I was asked to comment at the conclusion of that show upon their program and make observations on it, in view of my work here on the Internal Security Subcommittee. And it is a well-written script. In the light of my knowledge about the type of subversion and espionage in this country, it is authoritative, it is authentic. It



was well written after conference with governmental authorities here that are in a position to know. And while the names are fictitious, the procedures and the things which are described and portrayed there are an excellent lesson for the American people to get. And I, for one, regret very greatly that the show was canceled and it is my hope that it will not be canceled permanently but only postponed to some early date in the future.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Senator, the withdrawal of that television will encourage the Russian rulers in the Kremlin to think that through barking, through threatening to bite, they can exercise a certain amount of censorship over our own media of communication.

Senator HRUSKA. Are there any further questions?

Senator Johnston, have you any further questions?

Senator JOHNSTON. No further questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman, but before the record is closed, I have several insertions.

First, is an item from the Worker of January 29, 1961, page 3. The national committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., receives a report on the meeting of the 81 Communist and workers parties from Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and James E. Jackson, Jr., which reports were approved.

(The article was marked Appendix II and is printed at p. 97.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Second, from the Worker of November 13, 1960, page 12, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and James E. Jackson, Jr., watched the 43rd anniversary parade of the October revolution in Moscow. This celebration was the ostensible purpose for the visit of Communist Party delegates from all over the world.

(The article was marked Appendix III and is printed at p. 99.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Third, from the Worker of December 11, 1960, pages 1 and 3, the report on the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers parties.

(The article was marked Appendix IV and is printed at p. 99.)

Mr. SOURWINE. And, fourth, from the Worker, December 18, 1960, page 3, an editorial calling the statement of the 81 Communist and workers parties a "call to struggle for peace."

(The article was marked Appendix V and is printed at p. 103.)

Senator HRUSKA. Without objection the inserts will be received for the record in the fashion indicated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, one question of the witness.

In analyzing this manifesto, you used the text, did you not?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. As printed in the New York Times?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since then a text called an authorized text has been printed in Political Affairs for January. I have not had time to analyze the two, but there are some differences. They appear to be small, perhaps minor, but not insignificant, such as, for example, Tass refers to "Our time, whose main content is the normalization," while Political Affairs says, "Our time, whose main content is the transition." Tass refers to the "great October revolution." The Political Affairs text says, "the struggle between the two opposing Socialist systems." I believe it would be well if the text of the mani-

festo as it appears in Political Affairs be printed in the appendix of this hearing along with the Tass text. Future scholars might want to analyze it.

Senator HRUSKA. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(The material referred to appears on p. 76.)

Senator HRUSKA. The subcommittee will stand adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)



# APPENDIX

## APPENDIX I

[From the New York Times, pp. 14-17, Dec. 7, 1960]

*Following is the text of a statement issued by the conference of representatives of Communist parties held in Moscow last month, as provided in English by Tass, Soviet press agency:*

Representatives of the Communist and workers parties have discussed at this meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The Communist and workers parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the declaration and peace manifesto adopted in 1957. These program documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international Communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure toward uniting the efforts of the Communist and workers parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the banner and guide to action for the whole of the international Communist movement.

The course of events in the past 3 years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the declaration and peace manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system; the superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. This situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

## STRUGGLE OUTLINED BETWEEN TWO SYSTEMS

Our time, whose main content is the normalization from capitalism to socialism initiated by the great October revolution, is a time of struggle between the two social systems, a time of socialistic revolutions and nationalistic liberalistic revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialistic position, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force—fascism—to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of the socialist



countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart.

As the world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favor of the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied.

The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the Socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the structure of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world Socialist system is revolutionizing the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism.

By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot rescue capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop the decayed pillars of capitalism by militarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

#### CONTRADICTIONS LAID TO CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing to some degree or other, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming the more acute on a national as well as international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis.

The anarchical nature of capitalist production is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all through intensification of labor. Automation and "rationalization" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its pressing demands.

In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below pre-war. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad

peasant masses and large sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and which, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism," that it has established a so-called welfare state capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crises and assuring well-being for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever.

The new interstate organizations which are established under the slogan of "integration" actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

In recent years all the people's democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of Socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale cooperative farming on Socialist lines. Lenin's cooperative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private land ownership was a longstanding tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations.

The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger.

#### HISTORIC CHANGES LAID TO SOCIALISM

In the course of Socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the Socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the Socialist reorganization of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary cooperation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the people's democracies. The working class has become the main force of society, its ranks are growing, its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from age-long poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, Socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the flesh of the working people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of society, for the all-round and complete development of the gifts and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily, thanks to economic progress.

An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multinational Socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the Socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities, and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the people's democracies, Socialist ideology has achieved notable successes in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other Socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature; day after day it gives rise to a Communist attitude to labor and other elements of the future Communist society. The methods of Socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic



and cultural development; certain functions of the State are being gradually transferred to public organizations.

Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other Socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the Socialist camp reliably safeguard every Socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the Socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp insure complete victory for socialism with the entire system.

#### MARX-LENINIST DUTY TO USE OPPORTUNITIES

Thanks to the heroic effort of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the Communist and workers parties, most favorable objective opportunities have been provided in the past years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the Socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist parties heading the Socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and withstood serious tests, the Communist Parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing Socialist construction.

The Socialist countries and the Socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing Socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire Socialist system. They owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal cooperation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the Socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilization of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the Socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievement and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the Socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the Socialist countries cherish the unity of the Socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common Socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism.

Its successful development requires consistent application, in Socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development, encouragement of the creative initiative of the people, continuous improvement of the system of international division of labor through the coordination of national economic plans, specialization and cooperation in production within the world Socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit, and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standards.

It requires study of collective experience, extended cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance, gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the Socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the Socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilization and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every Socialist country.

#### COMMUNISTS ISSUE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and workers parties of the Socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the Socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living.

To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the Socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labor to be achieved through continuous technical progress, economic planning, strict observance of the Leninist principle of providing material incentives and moral stimuli to work for the good of society by heightening the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labor and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the Socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national economy, and mechanization and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a Communist society. On this basis, it is necessary to develop Communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new, Communist society.

#### DECLINE EMPHASIZED IN ECONOMY OF UNITED STATES

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U.S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world, the United States has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing undercapacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the postwar years and has been barely above the growth of population. Overproduction crises have become more frequent.

The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarized economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.

The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic "aid." They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which has allied itself with U.S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the U.S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against Socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on its own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the Socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation, working-class, and Socialist movements.

International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

#### WEST'S MILITARY BLOCS DECLARED WEAKENING

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on between their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The U.S. imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs, which causes increased resistance on the part of the people.

The United States remains the main economic, financial, and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the U.S. monopolies, are stepping



up expansion. The West German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting underway between the forces of labor and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America.

An anticolonial movement for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national uprising in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-United States military alliance, for peace, democracy, and national independence, is underway in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defense of democracy show the militant resolve of the working people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working-class strikes in the United States, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium, and other capitalist countries.

The actions of the Negro people in the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character. There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the Fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, is developing in South Vietnam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defense of peace is gaining ground in all continents.

All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist, national-liberation, antiwar and class struggles is rising ever higher.

#### NEW STAGE DEPICTED IN CAPITALIST CRISIS

A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.

This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one-third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism, the tremendous new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system, the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism, the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state monopoly capitalism and militarism, the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole, the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and Fascist methods of government, and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology.

This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the World War, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people of democracy, national liberation, and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism, and human progress.

#### SOCIALISM SAID TO ENTER NEW ERA OF CONSTRUCTION

A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a Communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this doctrine opens up immense opportunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the 7-year economic development plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilization; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favor of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The People's Democratic Republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy, the exploitation of man by man has forever been abolished or is being eliminated successfully. The success of the policy of socialist industrialization has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry. Agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is insured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

#### GREATER UNITY OBSERVED UNDER SOCIALISM

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms.

In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterized by antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations, and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and to the consolidation of all the forms of cooperation between them.

Under socialism, the development of national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmo-



niously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party which has become the ruling party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism.

The declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of Socialist construction, depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copying of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead to the party of the proletariat being isolated from reality, from the masses, and may injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the Communist and workers parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

#### WORKERS EDUCATED IN INTERNATIONALISM

The Communist and workers parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism.

Solid unity of the Communist and workers parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In blazing a trail to communism, the peoples of the Socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The Communist and workers parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role and influence on the course of world events are growing from year to year.

The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating World Wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe.

Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction.

The U.S. imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France, and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO, and other military blocs. Under the guise of combatting the "Communist menace," it has enmeshed the so-called "free world," that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries.

The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the U.S. militarists.

#### WEST GERMANS SCORED AS AGGRESSIVE MILITARISTS

The imperialist forces of the United States, Britain, and France have made a criminal deal with West German imperialism. In West Germany, militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals, which the U.S. imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West European countries.

The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West German imperialism, is increasing. The West German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise borders established after the Second World War. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all peace-loving countries and nations of Europe.

An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The U.S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving countries.

The U.S. invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea, and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Vietnam. They have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles.

Threatening Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organization of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America, in the realization of their aggressive schemes.

#### IMPERIALISTS ACCUSED OF CAUSING ARMS RACE

The U.S. imperialists have set up a huge war machinery and refuse to allow its reduction. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race is going on. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly in the African Continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The U.S. militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests. Military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.



The U.S. ruling circles have wrecked the Paris meeting of the heads of government of the four Great Powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown.

The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. U.S. imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war.

But the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt, and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq, and some other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom.

The peoples of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace, and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction, and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace, and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organized forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology, the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace, a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace, the international working class and its organizations, above all the Communist parties, the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries, the world peace movement, and the neutral countries which want to share in the imperialist policy of war and advocate peaceful coexistence.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favored by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

#### PREVENTION OF WAR CALLED PRESSING TASK

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the antiwar and peace-loving forces be directed toward preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it.

The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation

of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote co-operation with all countries which have no interest in new wars.

In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war.

The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories, and offices.

The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defense potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of Communists the task which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, thwart the aggressive designs of the West German revanchists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermonuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war.

No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organizations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.

The Communist parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, cooperatives, women's and youth leagues and organizations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

#### SOCIALIST VICTORY PREDICTED IN PEACEFUL COMPETITION

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science, and technology.

The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The U.S.S.R. will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute.

In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.

The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. The Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war.



In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st congresses of the C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and workers' parties.

The five principles jointly advanced by the Chinese Peoples Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the U.S. doctrine of cold war and brinkmanship, for it is a policy leading to thermonuclear catastrophe.

By upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural, and scientific ties between nations.

#### PEACE IS DESCRIBED AS SOCIALIST ALLY

The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the Socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of States does not imply renunciation of the class struggle, as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence.

The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy, and national liberation.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the Socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist parties, for the triumph of Socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

The meeting considers that the implementation of the program for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind.

To realize this program means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realize, owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence, it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this program into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil, and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament.

Through an active, determined struggle by the Socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

#### ARMS RACE ASSAILED AS THE PATH TO WAR

The arms race is not a war deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war.

Only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries the people constantly demand that military expenditures be reduced and the funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses.

In each country it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement for the use of the funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The Communist and workers' parties of the Socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance toward imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defense capacity of the entire Socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission.

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About 40 new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the 15 post-war years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin American peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world Socialist system.

The great October socialist revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the worldwide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the Socialist revolution in China, and the formation of the world Socialist system.

The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The Socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national-liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working class movement.

#### CREDIT IS CLAIMED FOR NEW NATIONS

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism.

Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world Socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by nonmilitary methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.



The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the United States, make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African, and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic aid, drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there.

The imperialists endeavor to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "interdependence," to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral aggressive military alliances to achieve these ends. The imperialists' accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nations united in a single national-democratic front.

#### BASIS OF UNITY STATED FOR PROGRESSIVE FORCES

The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom, are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratization of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempts to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry.

The creation and extension on a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry, a sector independent from foreign monopolies and gradually becoming a determining factor in the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and insuring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front.

The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability. A big role can be played by the national patriotic forces, by all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence, against imperialism.

In present conditions the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, antifederal revolution, and therefore retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable, thought progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism.

Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on

the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism, and the national bourgeoisie.

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves.

As social contradictions grow the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of noncapitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty, and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

#### DEMOCRACY DEFINED FOR COMMUNIST CAMP

In the present historical situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy; that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory, a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital, a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government, a state in which the people are insured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy.

The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of colonial yoke.

The Communist parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, antifederal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people.

They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists positions. At the same time they firmly oppose antidemocratic, antipopular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence.

Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose; they work for a genuine democratization of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anticommunism" and isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement, weakens the national movement. It is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence.

They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel, and cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression.

The class-conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realized that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations, fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists.

Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist



them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural rebirth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the popular masses in their own countries.

#### COMPLETE ABOLITION OF COLONIALISM URGED

The entire course of the world history of recent decades prompts the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance to easing international tension and consolidating universal peace.

This meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence—an important step toward complete emancipation.

The meeting extends heartfelt regards and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It wrathfully condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality.

The meeting demands noninterference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo, and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the international working class and Communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.

#### NEW OPPORTUNITIES SEEN FOR COMMUNISTS

The new balance of world forces offers the Communist and Workers parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The Communist parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution in keeping with the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions, and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people.

Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle, the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the bulwark of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state monopoly capitalism, which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. The exploitation of working people is gaining in intensity, so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute.

#### MONOPOLIES ACCUSED OF CONTRADICTIONS

The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming increasingly heavier for all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society—that between labor and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish, or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries, fascism is expanding in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been stripped of democratic content and reduced to pure form. Many democratic organizations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground. Thousands of fighters for the working-class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the Communists of the world, this meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in the United States of America, Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The meeting urges launching a powerful worldwide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalization of the key branches of economy and democratization of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realized, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for democratic reform, large sections of the population come to realize the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its Communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success.

Communists advocate general democratization of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organizations and institutions.

#### COMMUNISTS SET APART IN DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with the masses, increase their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realize the necessity of accomplishing it.

This sets the Marxist-Leninist parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution. Marxists-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that socialism alone is a real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organizations, and, the unorganized sections of the population. There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism. Lenin's great



behest—to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist party.

The restoration of unity in trade union democracy exists in countries where it is split, as well as on the international scale, is essential for heightening the role of the working class in political life and for the successful defense of its interests. The working people may belong to different trade unions, but they have common interests.

Whenever different trade union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent years, they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in having the demands of the working people met. The Communist parties believe that there are real prerequisites for reestablishing trade union unity, and will work perseveringly to bring it about.

In those countries where no trade union democracy exists in practice, the struggle for trade union unity calls for continuous efforts aimed at achieving trade union independence and recognition and observance of the trade union rights of all working people without political and any other discrimination.

#### JOINT ACTION ADVOCATED TO ACHIEVE PEACE

It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organizations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights.

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which represents the main motive force of social revolution.

The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the right-wing social-democratic leadership and reactionary trade union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this split.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some right-wing social-democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and split the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs, they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the right-wing leadership has succeeded in making the social-democratic parties adopt programs in which it openly disowned Marxism, the class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans.

Thereby they have again done a service to the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the right-wing leaders is mounting in the social-democratic parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the social-democratic party functionaries. The forces favoring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority in the social-democratic parties, particularly the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

Communities will continue to criticize the ideological positions and right-wing opportunist practices of the social-democrats, they will continue activities aimed at inducing the social-democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtaining between themselves and the social-democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

#### COOPERATION DECLARED NECESSARY FOR PROGRESS

Communists regard social-democrats among the working people as their class brothers. They often work together in trade unions and other organizations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and social-democratic parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist, the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of social-democrats and some social-democratic parties have already in some form or another come out in favor of solving these problems. It is safe to say that on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.

Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist parties advocate cooperation with the socialist parties. The Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically substantiated and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with social-democrats, for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas, and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people and of establishing cooperation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a Socialist system.

The Communist parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

#### CHOICE OF SOCIAL SYSTEM CALLED A BASIC RIGHT

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it.

The Communist parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time, they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counterrevolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the Socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the Socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes.



Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for working people.

The Communist parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the Socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and insure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people.

Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, antipopular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extraparlimentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the Socialist revolution.

#### CLASS STRUGGLE STRESSED AS PATH TO REFORM

All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses, and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes' resorting to violence against people, the possibility of nonpeaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles' using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist parties, vigorously exposing anticommunism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anticommunism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity particularly with the formation of the world Socialist system, anticommunism became more vicious and refined.

Anticommunism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in, and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the Socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light and carries on a witch hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

#### COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES FOR MASSES OUTLINED

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the Socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anticommunism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism.

A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of

Socialist society by referring to the experience of the countries of the world Socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants, and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war, lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty, general well-being and a high standard of living, freedom from fear of economic crises, a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole, freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual, all-around spiritual development of man, the fullest development of talent, unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society.

All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. As it fights bitterly against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, the Communist movement is making steady headway is becoming consolidated and steered.

#### COMMUNIST GROWTH HAILED AS VICTORY

There are now Communist parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36 million. This is a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class.

Likeminded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist parties consider it their internationalist duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the Communist parties and their organizational consolidation, the victories of the Communist parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the greater influence of the world Communist movement open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Communist parties.

Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism. They consider that they must cherish party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly to adhere to the principle of party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organizational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the party, to work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, not to allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists, vigorously to promote the activity of Communists, and to encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The Communist parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each Communist party and the international Communist movement as a whole have become still stronger, ideologically and organizationally, in the struggle against revisionism, rightwing opportunism.

The Communist parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist theories in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist program to the declaration of 1957, they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the Socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called aid from United States and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle.

#### SUBVERSION CHARGED TO YUGOSLAV REDS

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the Socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists, and



active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist theories.

The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism, rightwing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence and thereby paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly.

They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions, they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all Democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

#### UNITY HELD ESSENTIAL AGAINST IMPERIALISTS

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism, it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realization. The interests of the Communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every Communist party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal parties at their meetings.

The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries, they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

A resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the Socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

#### NEED OF FLEXIBILITY IN COMMUNIST PARTY POLICIES

All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights, they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class to the working people of its country, to the international working class and Communist movement as a whole.

The Communist and workers parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each

others views and positions, work out common views through consultations and coordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the party concerned. If necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings—that of November, 1957, and this meeting—show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

The Communist and workers parties unanimously declare that the Communist party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience which the Communist party of the Soviet Union has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in Socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement.

The example of the Soviet Communist Party and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist party are not only of great importance for the Soviet Communist Party and Communist construction in the U.S.S.R., but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communist and Workers' parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties embody the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

#### IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES TERMED SPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology.

Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a Socialist system. This demands extensive work by the party on the Communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism.

Its great creative, revolutionizing power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of Socialist countries and the international Communist, working class, and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers' parties can be effectively accomplished.

The meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working class, democratic, and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.



## APPENDIX I-A

[From Political Affairs, January 1961]

## STATEMENT BY 81 MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES

*Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties consulted together for an extended period of time in November, 1960. On December 5, 1960, these Parties unanimously adopted a Statement; this historic document is printed in full in the following pages in an authorized translation.—The Editor.*

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties have discussed at this Meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The Communist and Workers' Parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These program documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international Communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure toward uniting the efforts of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the banner and guide to action for the whole of the international Communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

*The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.*

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. This situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions, to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

## I

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

*It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.*

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force—fascism—to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of the socialist countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart. As the world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favor of the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

*Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A*

*reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.*

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionizing the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to, the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot rescue capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop the decayed pillars of capitalism by militarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing to some degree or other, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more acute on a national as well as international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis. The anarchical nature of capitalist production is becoming more marked. Capitalist concentration is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all through intensification of labor. Automation and "rationalization" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its pressing demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below pre-war. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad peasant masses and large sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and these, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism," that it has established a so-called "welfare state" capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crisis and assuring well-being for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new



inner-state organizations which are established under the slogan of "integration" actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines, of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U.S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world—the United States of America—has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing under-capacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the post-war years and has been barely above the growth of population. Over-production crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarized economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetrations into Africa is increasing. *U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.*

The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic "aid." They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which has allied itself with U.S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the U.S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on its own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation, working-class and socialist movements. *International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the whole world.*

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on between their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The U.S. imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs, which causes increased resistance on the part of the people. The United States remains the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the U.S. monopolies, are stepping up expansion. The West German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting under way between the forces of labor and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America. An anti-colonial movement for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national uprisings in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, for peace, democracy and national independence, is under way in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defence of democracy show the militant resolve of the working people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working-class strikes in the U.S.A., Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium and other capitalist countries. The actions of the Negro people in the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character.

There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, is developing in South Vietnam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defence of peace is gaining ground in all continents. All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist, national-liberation, anti-war and class struggles is rising ever higher.

*A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.* This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one-third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism; the tremendous new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism; the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism; the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole; the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology. This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress.

## II

*A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.*

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this science opens up immense opportunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilization; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.



The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favor of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people's democratic republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy; the exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever, or is being abolished. The success of the policy of socialist industrialization has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry; agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

In recent years all the People's Democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale co-operative farming on socialist lines. Lenin's co-operative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private land ownership was a long-standing tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations. The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger. In the course of socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the socialist reorganization of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary co-operation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the People's Democracies. The working class has become the main force of society; its ranks are growing; its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from age-long poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the flesh of the working people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of society, for the all-round and complete development of the gifts and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily thanks to economic progress.

An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multi-national socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities, and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the People's Democracies, socialist ideology has achieved notable successes in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature; day after day it gives rise to a Communist attitude to labor and other elements of the future Communist society. The methods of socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic and cultural development; certain functions of the state are being gradually transferred to public organizations.

*Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system.*

Thanks to the heroic effort of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the Communist and Workers' Parties, most favorable objective opportunities have been provided in the past years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist Parties heading the socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and withstood serious tests, the Communist Parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing socialist construction. The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist system; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal cooperation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalistic assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilization of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the socialist countries cherish the unity of the socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system of international division of labor through the co-ordination of national economic plans, specialization and co-operation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standard. It requires study of collective experience, extended co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance; gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilization and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every socialist country.

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living. To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labor to be achieved through continuous technical progress, economic planning, strict observance of the Leninist principle of providing material incentives and moral stimuli to work for the good of society by heightening the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labor and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national economy, and mecha-



nization and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a communist society. On this basis, it is necessary to develop communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new, communist society.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms. In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterized by antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and to the consolidation of all the forms of cooperation between them. Under socialism, the development of national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmoniously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples, born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party which has become the ruling party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism. The Declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copying of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead the party of the proletariat to being isolated from reality, from the masses, and may injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the Communist and Workers' Parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

*The Communist and Workers' Parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.*

In blazing a trail of communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international

working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role in and influence upon the course of world events are growing from year to year.

*The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interest of peace, democracy, and socialism.*

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

*The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction. The U.S. imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France, and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO, and other military blocs under the guise of combating the "communist menace"; it has enmeshed the so-called "free world," that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries. The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the U.S. militarists.*

The imperialist forces of the U.S.A., Britain, and France have made a criminal deal with West-German imperialism. In West Germany, militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals, which the U.S. imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West-European countries. The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West-German imperialism, is increasing. The West-German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise the borders established after the Second World War. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West-German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament, and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West-German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe. An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West-German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The Meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The U.S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and other peace loving countries. The U.S. invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Viet-Nam; they have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles. Threaten-



ing Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organization of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America in the realization of their aggressive schemes.

The U.S. imperialists have set up a huge war machinery and refuse to allow its reduction. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race is going on. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly in the African continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The U.S. militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests; military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.

The U.S. ruling circles have wrecked the Paris meeting of the Heads of Government of the four Great Powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown.

The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. U.S. imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt, and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq and some other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom. The peoples of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

*The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.*

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organized forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organizations, above all the Communist Parties; the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war, and advocate peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favored by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. *The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not let it break out.*

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote cooperation with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories and offices.

The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, thwart the designs of the West German revanchists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermonuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war. *No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organizations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.*

The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives, women's and youth leagues and organizations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniac start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The U.S.S.R. will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. *In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to ex-*



clude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.

The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. The Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war.

In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Five Principles jointly advanced by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung Conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the U.S. doctrine of "cold war" and "brinkmanship," for it is a policy leading to thermonuclear catastrophe. By upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations.

The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

The meeting considers that the implementation of the program for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind. To realize this program means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realize owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this program into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist

and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

The arms race is not a war-deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war. Only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries, the people constantly demand that military expenditures be reduced and the funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses. In each country, it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement, for the use of the funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle, the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The Communist and Worker's Parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance towards imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

*The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission.*

#### IV

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen post-war years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin-American peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

*The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.*

The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-wide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of the world socialist system. The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national-liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working-class movement.

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism. Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.



The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid," drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there. The imperialists endeavor to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "inter-dependence," to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral military alliances, to achieve these ends. The imperialists' accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nations united in a single national-democratic front. The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom, are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratization of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural co-operation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempts to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweeps away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and extension on a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry, a sector independent from foreign monopolies and gradually becoming a determining factor in the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability. A big role can be played by the national-patriotic forces, by all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence, against imperialism.

In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, and therefore retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie.

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised in life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the people themselves. As social contradictions grow, the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

In the present historical situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of the colonial yoke.

The Communist Parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose; they work for a genuine democratization of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anti-communism" and isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement, is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training, national personnel, and cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression.

The class-conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realized that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists. Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural rebirth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the popular masses in their own countries.

The entire course of the world history of recent decades prompts the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance in easing



international tension and consolidating universal peace. This Meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence—an important step towards complete emancipation. The Meeting extends heartfelt regards and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It wrathfully condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The Meeting demands noninterference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the international working class and Communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.

### V

The new balance of world forces offers the Communist and Workers' Parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution in keeping with the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle, the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the bulwark of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state monopoly capitalism, which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. The exploitation of working people is gaining in intensity; so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute. The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming increasingly heavier for all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society—that between labor and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish, or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries, fascism is expanding in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been stripped of democratic content and reduced to pure form. Many democratic organizations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground, thousands of fighters for the working-class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the Communists of the world, this Meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in the U.S.A., Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The Meeting urges launching a powerful, world-wide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalization of the key branches of economy and democratization of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realized, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for dramatic reforms, large sections of the population come to realize the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its Communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success.

Communists advocate general democratization of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organizations and institutions.

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with the masses, increase their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realize the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist Parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution. Marxist-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that socialism alone is a real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organizations, and the unorganized sections of the population. There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism. Lenin's great behest—to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist Party.

The restoration of unity in the trade-union movement in countries where it is split, as well as on the international scale, is essential for heightening the role of the working class in political life and for the successful defense of its interests. The working people may belong to different trade unions, but they have common interests. Whenever different trade-union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent years, they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in having the demands of the working people met. The Communist Parties believe that there are real prerequisites for re-establishing trade-union unity, and will work perseveringly to bring it about. In those countries where no trade-union democracy exists in practice, the struggle for trade-union unity calls for continuous efforts aimed at achieving trade-union independence and recognition and observance of the trade-union rights of all working people without political and any other discrimination.



It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organizations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvements of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights.

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which represents the main motive force of social revolution.

The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership and reactionary trade-union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this spirit.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and split the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs, they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the Right-wing leadership has succeeded in making the Social-Democratic Parties adopt programs in which they openly disowned Marxism, the class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans. Thereby they have again done a service to the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the Right-wing leaders is mounting in the Social-Democratic Parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the Social-Democratic Party functionaries. The forces favoring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority in the Social-Democratic Parties, particularly the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

Communists will continue to criticize the ideological positions and Right-wing opportunist practices of the Social-Democrats; they will continue activities aimed at inducing the Social-Democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtaining between themselves and the Social-Democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

Communists regard Social-Democrats among the working people as their class brothers. They often work together in trade unions and other organizations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of Social-Democrats and some Social-Democratic Parties have already in some form or another come out in favor of solving these problems. It is safe to say that *on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.*

Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of national independence, for peace among nations, and also

in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist Parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist Parties. The Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically sustained and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with Social-Democrats, for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing co-operation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it. *The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.*

The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes. Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for working people.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms



of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witchhunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war; lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty; general well-being and a high standard of living; freedom from fear of economic crisis; a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole; freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual; all-round spiritual development of man; the fullest development of talent; unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

## VI

The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. As it fights bitterly against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the Communist movement is making steady headway, is becoming consolidated and steels.

There are now Communist Parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36,000,000. This is a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class. Like-minded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist Parties consider it their internationalist duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working-class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the Communist Parties and their organizational consolidation, the victories of the Communist Parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the greater influence of the world Communist movement, open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Communist Parties.

Marxist-Leninist Parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism; they consider that they must cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly to adhere to the principle of Party

democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organizational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the Party, to work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the Party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, not to allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists, vigorously to promote the activity of Communists, and to encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The Communist Parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each Communist Party and the international Communist movement as a whole have become still stronger, ideologically and organizationally, in the struggle against revisionism, Right-wing opportunism.

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist program to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist "theories."

The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national-liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions; they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realization. The interests of the Communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal Parties at their meetings.

The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action.



It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

A resolute defence of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole.

The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings—that of November, 1957 and this Meeting—show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience which the C.P.S.U. has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in Socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement. The example of the C.P.S.U. and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist Parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. are not only of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and Communist construction in the U.S.S.R., but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communist and Workers' Parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties embody the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a Socialist system. This demands extensive work by the Party on the Communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of Party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionizing power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community

of socialist countries and the international Communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic success, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers' Parties can be effectively accomplished.

*The meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working-class democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.*

## APPENDIX II

[The Worker, Jan. 29, 1961]

### MONOPOLIES INCREASE U.S. TENSIONS, GUS HALL TELLS CP LEADERS' PARLEY

The National Committee of the Communist Party, meeting over last weekend, mapped a program of action for peace, civil rights, and against the mounting impact of mass unemployment.

The line of direction approved unanimously by the committee was advanced in the main report to the meeting by Gus Hall, general secretary.

The meeting was opened by Claude Lightfoot, national vice chairman, in the absence of Eugene Dennis, national chairman, who is seriously ill.

It was the second full meeting of the committee which was elected at the 17th convention a year ago.

The continued growth of the power of the monopolies and their "subversion of Government institutions" is bringing them into "sharper conflict with the vast majority of the people of the United States," Hall told the gathering.

## MINIMUM PROGRAM

This advancing peril must be answered by "unity of the people," embraced in a coalition around a minimum program to which all agree, Hall said.

The Kennedy administration takes over the reins of Government, he said, at a "crossroads moment" for the Nation.

The Communist Party, he said, is "entering a new stage in its development." The road to building the Party and its influence lies in expanding its "mass ties," especially in the working class, and in identifying itself with the problems of the masses. The "most vital" instrument to this end, he said, is the party's "united front relations."

## EIGHTY-ONE-PARTY STATEMENT

Hall opened his report with a discussion of the statement adopted by the representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties who met in Moscow in November.

The statement was discussed in detail in reports by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a national vice chairman of the Party, and James E. Jackson, member of the national secretariat.

The reports of Hall, Miss Flynn, and Jackson were approved unanimously by the meeting.

The 81-party statement, Hall said, coincided in the main with the perspectives which the Communist Party of the United States had adopted at its 17th convention in late 1959. The statement reflected the "basic change in the relation of forces" between the capitalist system and the socialist system on a world scale.

The "new frontiers" which the Kennedy administration has promised to attain cannot be found along the "cold war road," Hall said. Progress means, in the first place, the ending of the cold war.

## TWO DIRECTIONS

The Kennedy cabinet is headed in "two directions," Hall said. Any struggle that develops between these two trends will not be unimportant; it may "stimulate mass participation on the part of the people" in deciding the outcome of the issues of the day.



The conditions now exist, Hall said, for a "vast upsurge" of the people. "Increasing instability," including growing unemployment, is characteristic of our economy today, he declared, and "the long range factors of expansion are running out." This is the situation in which an "offensive of big business" is unfolding.

The peril confronting mankind, through the threat of a thermonuclear war, demands, Hall declared, that the new administration be pressed by the people to end the cold war, and to agree to new summit talks with the Soviet Union.

#### DISARMAMENT

He called for dismantling of U.S. overseas bases, abolition of nuclear tests, an end to brinkmanship agreement to a program of disarmament, the diversion of war funds to useful social purposes, and agreement on a no-war pact with the U.S.S.R.

"Disarmament," Hall declared, is the "prerequisite for peace." He warned that while the American people favor peace, and many organizations have acted for peace already, the movement as a whole still "lags seriously."

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

He called for immediate action by the Kennedy administration on the civil rights front. "There are laws, but they remain on paper," he said. The President should employ the military forces of the Government to bar the violence against the Negro people. He urged Executive action by proclamation to guarantee the Negro people the "right to hold office and the right to vote," and demanded that as long as the Negro people in the South are denied their civil rights, congressional representation from the South should be reduced, in accord with the Constitution, in proportion to the number of Negroes denied the right to vote.

The civil rights struggle is growing, but "too slowly," he said.

After recounting the buildup of anti-Cuba forces in the United States under the Eisenhower administration, Hall warned that the action of the people of the United States was necessary to guarantee the defeat of the plots against the Castro regime.

He discussed also the developments among the youth in the area of peace and civil liberties.

The Communist Party could report progress during the past year, but still had many serious obstacles to overcome.

The Sunday session of the national committee devoted considerable attention to a discussion of documents presented on a legislative program, on the struggle for civil rights, and on peace. Benjamin Davis, national secretary, presented the party's legislative program embodying proposals and tasks in line with the main report of Gus Hall. Lightfoot introduced the civil rights program and Arnold Johnson the peace appeal.

Other actions taken by the national committee were:

1. Unanimously removed Homer Chase, former district organizer of New England, from the national committee for persistent violation of party policy, and unanimously affirmed the expulsion of Alexander Bittelman.
2. Referred draft programs of action on peace, legislation, and civil rights to the national executive committee.
3. Elected William Weinstone, veteran Communist leader, to fill a vacancy which had occurred since the previous meeting.
4. Agreed to establish a women's commission of the national committee.
5. Urged fullest support to the Worker subscription and financial drives.
6. Approved proposals for nationwide celebrations of the 80th birthday of William Z. Foster, the party's honorary chairman.
7. Greetings were sent to William Z. Foster, honorary chairman; Eugene Dennis, national chairman; to Bob Thompson, who could not participate because of restrictions under his conditional release; to Henry Winston and Gil Green, imprisoned party leaders, and to Dorothy Healey and Pettis Perry, who are ill.

The meeting was attended by 50 of the 59 members of the committee. Four, including Dennis, were prevented by illness from attending. Forty-one persons participated in the general discussion on the reports.

#### APPENDIX III

[From the Worker, Nov. 13, 1960, p. 12]

#### U.S. VISITORS SEE MOSCOW PARADE

Moscow.—Hundreds of Americans witnessed this year's celebrations of the 43d anniversary of the October revolution of the Soviet Union.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, vice chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and James Jackson, editor of the Worker, watched the parade from reviewing stands in Red Square. Despite a drizzle and slightly above freezing weather, the square was packed.

Special applause greeted exhibits of fabricated housing.

#### APPENDIX IV

[From The Worker, Dec. 11, 1961, pp. 1, 3, 10]

#### WORLD COMMUNISTS PLEDGE ALL FOR PEACE STRUGGLE

(By John Pittman)

Moscow.—Communist leaders of 81 countries have resolved here to dedicate "all their strength and energy to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war."

In a 14,000-word statement published December 6 in Pravda, organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist representatives reaffirmed their support of the 1957 declaration and peace manifesto of Communist and Workers' Parties, which asserted that world war is "not fatally inevitable."

This week's statement again declares world war "can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world Socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces."

It describes the peace movement as "the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society."

"No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger," the statement declares. "Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war."

Besides dealing with the problem of war and peace, the statement contains an estimate of the international situation and of the new opportunities for bridling the capitalist monopolies. It restates the postulate of the 1957 declaration that in a number of capitalist countries the Socialist revolution may be achieved by peaceful means.

#### WORLD APPEAL

These questions have been for sometime the object of speculation and wishful thinking in the commercial press and in Western political circles, as sources of a split among the Socialist countries. However, agreement by the 81 parties on the statement on an "appeal to the world" to be issued later, was reported to be unanimous.

According to a communique published in the Soviet press last week, the participants were here to attend the celebrations of the 43d anniversary of the October revolution which began November 7. Later they convened to consider "urgent problems" of the international situation, "familiarized themselves with each other's views and positions" and "unanimously adopted a statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties," the communique asserted.

"Imperialist renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the Socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure," the statement said. "All the Socialist countries cherish the unity of the Socialist camp as the apple of their eye."



## REPRESENTATIVE

The meeting is believed to have been the most representative assemblage of Communist and Workers' Parties ever held. As compared to the 65 delegations which issued the 1957 peace manifesto, only 6 of the world's 87 Communist and Workers' Parties, which have a total membership of more than 37 millions, were unable to send representatives.

The variety of experiences and viewpoints expressed in the reports and discussion was indicated by the fact that representatives came from countries with the most diverse state systems and historical and cultural backgrounds.

Delegations from the 12 Socialist countries included chairman of the Chinese People's Republic Liu Shao-chi, President Novotny of Czechoslovakia, and General Secretary Wladislaw Gomulka of the Polish United Workers' Party. The Communist Parties of fascist Spain and fascist Portugal were represented, as was the Communist Party of the rabidly profascist Union of South Africa. All the Latin American countries were represented, along with 14 propeace states of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. There were 30 delegations from imperialist bloc and other capitalist countries.

## U.S. IMPERIALISM

The statement takes note of the current position of U.S. imperialism. Where as the 1957 declaration had referred to "aims" of the "aggressive imperialist circles of the United States," the statement issued this week characterizes "U.S. imperialism" as "the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme \* \* \* An enemy of the peoples of the whole world."

It says that in relation to Asia, Africa, and Latin America, "U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter." It is called "the mainstay of colonialism" and the "main force of aggression and war."

At the same time, according to the Communist leaders, "the decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States." They point to "especially big chronic unemployment," "increasing undercapacity production, and increasing frequency of overproduction crises."

The United States remains the "main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism," the Communist leaders declare, but they note the fact that "its share in capitalist economy is diminishing." And although the statement makes no reference to recent official U.S. Government reports on the decline of U.S. prestige abroad, it declares that "U.S. imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows."

## NEW STAGES

New features of the international situation, as elaborated in the statement, are a "new stage in the development of the general crisis of capitalism," and a "new stage in the development of world socialism."

The Communist representatives see world capitalism as going through "an intensive process of disintegration and decay despite attempts to save it by militarism and the development of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism. In this situation, all the class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of society, have sharpened greatly, they say, and they emphasize that this deterioration of capitalism is taking place within the conditions of competition and struggle between capitalism and socialism."

## SOCIALIST GROWTH

On the other hand, socialist construction has advanced so rapidly, socialist relations of production have become so predominant, and the world socialist camp has become so strong, that in all socialist countries today "the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible," the statement declares.

In addition, the Communist leaders take note that "the breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system."

They express solidarity with "all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism." More-

over, the statement predicts that "the abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance to easing international tension and consolidating universal peace."

## NEW BALANCE

Based on their analysis of world conditions, the Communist leaders assert that a "new balance of forces" has come into being. "There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy, and socialism," they declare.

They describe as "the principal characteristic of our time" the fact that "the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society \* \* \* Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. What efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history."

The Communists predict that "capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production." They denounce the concept that socialism and communism may be spread by war, as well as its twin idea concerning the "export" of revolution. Both ideas, they declare, serve reaction as pretexts for falsifying and distorting Communist activities and aims, and conducting witch hunts against democratic and peace forces.

## REJECT SLANDER

"The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander," they declare, referring to the idea that "the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system." The statement says: "the fact that both World Wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions, by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states."

"The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of export and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it."

"The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution."

"At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution."

In respect to the form of the socialist revolution, this will depend on the "specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes," the statement declares. "Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people."

"Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people."

## WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE

The statement continues that the working class can "launch an extraparlimentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the Socialist revolution."



However, it warns that "in the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of a nonpeaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind."

"The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each country depends on the concrete historical conditions," it asserts.

#### NEW CONDITIONS

Among the new conditions created by the changed balance of forces in the world, the Communists take note of opportunities for conducting struggles against the big imperialist monopolies. They express solidarity with the "courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in the United States, Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan, and other countries. The meeting urges the launching of a worldwide, powerful campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence, and democracy."

#### TRADE UNION UNITY

The statement expresses the Communists' belief that "there are real prerequisites for reestablishing trade union unity," and for restoring "the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements" through "joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's 'social rights.'"

"Communists regard Social-Democrats among the working people as their class brothers," the statement says, and they "are prepared to hold discussions with Social-Democrats, for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas, and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing cooperation."

#### REVISIONISM DOGMATISM

But the statement repeats and elaborates on the 1957 declaration's warnings against revisionism and dogmatism. "The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form," it declares. It charges that "the Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the Socialist camp and the world Communist movement."

"Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly," the Communists say. "They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions, they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, from using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and therefore prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle."

In its concluding paragraphs concerning the consolidation of the unity of the Socialist world, and the fraternal relations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the statement emphasized that the "historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are not only of great importance for the CPSU and Communist construction in the U.S.S.R., but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

"All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights," the Communists declare. "They shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working class cause in any country is unthinkable without the international solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist Parties. Each party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its own country, to the international working class, and Communist movement as a whole."

#### APPENDIX V

(From the Worker, Dec. 18, 1960, p. 31)

#### A CALL TO STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties is a document of momentous importance. It must be studied carefully.

The effort being made by reactionary and imperialist circles in all countries, not least in our own, to distort its meaning reveals their disappointment that their hopes and speculations on divisions in the socialist camp have been shattered.

C.L. Sulzberger, New York Times columnist, obviously fearful of the impact of the statement, especially its clear and emphatic call for peace, urges his readers to use the yardstick of Madison Avenue in reading the document. "If one accepts that almost everything said means the contrary of what it claims to mean, one is perhaps closer to the truth," he advises.

But the Sulzbergers surely cannot forget that such advice has often left them helpless and has exposed their class to policies based on such unreality. Some of Sulzberger's colleagues have admitted on other occasions that the "secret weapon" of the socialist world consists in the fact that its enemies refuse to accept the Communists at their word.

We shall comment in the future on the many very important questions covered in the statement of the world's Communists. Here we wish to limit ourselves to what is most important for every man, woman, and child in our country, and in every other land—the issue of peace.

Confirming the correctness of the 1957 declaration of peace manifesto of the Communist and Workers' Parties, that "war is not fatally inevitable," the statement declares that world war "can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces."

The world's Communists, basing their position on today's reality, conclude that war is not inevitable. But they do not minimize the war danger. In fact they warn against both underestimating the "possibility of peaceful coexistence and \* \* \* the danger of war."

The main emphasis is on struggle. Struggle will decide the issue. In this connection the peace movement is described as "the broadest movement of our time," a movement that embraces "people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society." But such a view of the broad potential of the peace movement does not in the least minimize the great responsibility that the working class, and especially the Communists, bear in the fight for peace.

The people of our country who cherish and need peace no less than do other peoples, bear a special responsibility in the struggle for peace because it is unfortunately true, as the world's Communists conclude, that "U.S. imperialism" is the "chief bulwark of world reaction \* \* \* the mainstay of colonialism" and the "main force of aggression and war." This can be seen in arming the Aденauer and former Hitler generals with atomic weapons, maintaining in power the fascist Franco regime in Spain, intervention in Cuba, or support to the Quislings in the Congo.

Clearly all such policies are against the interests of the people of our country and a danger to peace. They are the policies of men who at home also put property rights above human rights and whose policies could blow up the world if they cannot dominate it.

There can be little doubt that the Eisenhower-Nixon-Dulles brink policy as revealed in the U-2 incident was a factor in the defeat of the GOP. It is also true that while the people saw no clear alternative on election day in the foreign policy pronouncement of the two major presidential candidates, millions voted in the belief that by their choice they were furthering the cause of peace.

Now with the new administration about to take over, it is even more necessary for the American people to make known their urgent desire for peace. This, and not speculation on the policy of the Kennedy administration, nor on the influence of this or that member of the new State Department team, will be decisive.



The people, instead of waiting, should tell the new administration that they want a change, an end to the cold war, they want a policy of peaceful coexistence, a policy of negotiation and peaceful settlement of all issues. The current economic situation confirms that the cold war and armaments are a menace to the economic welfare of the people as well as a danger to peace.

It is especially urgent that the working class which, thanks to the harmful policies of the Meany leadership, has not played its necessary role in the struggle for peace, should take its rightful place at the head of this movement. In the words of the statement of the world's Communists: "No political, religious, or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger."

## INDEX

NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

A	Page
Academy of Social Sciences.....	2
AFL-CIO.....	1
Afro-Asian bloc.....	42
Appendix I (text of statement of Moscow conference of 81 Communist Parties).....	53
Appendix I-A (statement by 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties, 1960).....	76
Appendix II (article from Worker re Gus Hall).....	97
Appendix III (article from Worker, "U.S. Visitors See Moscow Parade").....	99
Appendix IV (article from Worker, "World Communists Pledge All for Peace Struggle").....	99
Appendix V (article from Worker, "A Call to Struggle for Peace").....	103
Austria.....	10
B	
Bandung conference.....	64
Berlin.....	11, 12, 37, 40
Berliner Illustrierter (publication).....	12
Bittelman, Alexander.....	98
Bulganin.....	19
C	
Castro.....	8
CENTO.....	61, 83
Chase, Homer.....	98
Chernov, Mr.....	31
Chiang Kai-shek government.....	31
Chinese People's Republic.....	100
Comintern. (See Communist International.).....	
Comintern, Seventh World Congress of.....	2
Communist China.....	26, 37, 41, 43, 44
Communist conference, international.....	1
Communist International (Comintern).....	29, 31, 33, 36
Communist Party:	
Chinese.....	10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 33, 100
Chinese, Central Committee of.....	21
Czechoslovakia.....	100
German.....	8
Portugal.....	100
Soviet Union.....	2-4, 10, 12, 16, 24, 25, 30, 32, 34, 45, 64, 96, 99, 102, 103
Central Committee of.....	2, 32, 34, 45
20th Congress of.....	64, 86
21st Congress of.....	61, 86
22d Congress of.....	25
Spain.....	100
Union of South Africa.....	100
United States.....	2, 33-35, 38, 50, 97
Communist Party National Committee.....	97
Communists, Chinese.....	4
CPSU. (See Communist Party of Soviet Union.).....	
Cuba.....	4, 17
Cuban National Bank.....	11



	D	Page
Davis, Benjamin		98
Dennis, Eugene	34, 97, 98	
Department of State		5
Dodd, Thomas J. (Senator)		29
	E	
Egyptian Government		18
Eisenhower administration		98
Eisenhower-Nixon-Dulles brink policy		103
	F	
Fair Play Committee for Cuba		8
Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley	50, 97, 99	
"For New Victories of the World Communist Movement" (Khrushchev's report)		2
Foster, William Z.		98
	G	
Gates		34
German Democratic Republic		11
Germany	10, 11, 12	
Ghana		17
Gomulka, Wladislaw (general secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party)		100
Green, Gil		98
Grotius		43
Guevara, Maj. Ernesto		8
	H	
Hall, Gus		97, 98
Hammaraskjold		39
Healey, Dorothy		98
Higher Party School		2
Hungarian revolution		3
Hungary		7, 20
Hruska, Roman L. (Senator)		29
	I	
India		7, 17
Institute of Marxism-Leninism		2
International Affairs (publication)		15
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)		25
	J	
Jackson, James E., Jr.		50, 97
Johnson, Arnold		98
Johnston, Olin D. (Senator)		29
	K	
Kaganovich		19
Kassem, General		18
Kellogg Pact on Disarmament		22
Kennedy administration		97, 98
Kennedy Cabinet		97
Khrushchev	2-6, 10, 11, 15-23, 25, 30-39, 41, 45, 47	
Kuomintang		16
	L	
Laos		4
League of Communists of Yugoslavia		2, 73, 95
League of Yugoslav Communists		23

	Page
Lenin	29, 38
Lenin Institute	33
Li Fu Ch'un	21
Lightfoot, Claude	97
Liu Shao-chi (Chairman of Chinese People's Republic)	100
Lovestone, Jay	1-51
Statement of	1-28
Testimony of	1-51
	M
Malenkov	19
Mandel, Benjamin	29
Mao Tse-tung	3, 4, 10-17, 21, 22, 33, 38, 42-44
Mikoyan	23
Molotov	19
Moscow	3, 8, 12, 42
Moscow conference	4, 6, 15, 24
Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto, 1957	2, 64, 76, 95
Moscow Declaration, 1960	26
Moscow Manifesto	4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15-17, 21-26
	N
Nasser	18, 42
NATO	11, 61, 83
New York City	5
New York Times	13, 31-33, 50, 53, 103
Novotny (President of Czechoslovakia)	100
	P
Pankow	11
Paris summit	4
Peiping	3, 8, 12-15, 17, 21, 22, 42
Perry, Pettis	98
Pittman, John	99
Poland	7
Polish revolt	3
Polish United Workers Party	100
Politburo	21
Political Affairs	50, 51, 76
Pravda	3, 99
"Problems of Communism" (book)	15
	R
Red Army	31, 45
Red Flag (publication)	21
Red Square	99
Red Star (official organ of Red Army)	31
	S
Salisbury, Harrison	32
SEATO	61, 83
Shepilov	19
Sino-Soviet case	12
Sourwine, J. G.	29
Soviet 7-Year Economic Development Plan	70
Soviet Union	10, 18
"Spirit of Camp David"	6
"Spy Next Door, The" (TV show)	48, 40
Stalin	88
Stalin-Hitler pact	8
Sulzberger, C. L.	100



	T	Page
Talensky, Nicolai (major general)	-----	14, 15
Tass	-----	50, 51, 53
Thompson, Bob	-----	98
Tito	-----	24
Regime of	-----	23
Trotsky	-----	13, 19

	U	Page
UAR Government	-----	18
United Nations	-----	12, 21
U.N. Secretary General	-----	11
U-2 incident	-----	45, 48, 49, 103

	W	Page
Weinstone, William	-----	98
Winston, Henry	-----	98
Worker	-----	50, 97-99, 103
World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)	-----	24-25

	Y	Page
Yugoslav Government	-----	23
Yugoslavia	-----	23

## O

		Page
Red Army	-----	31, 45
Red Line (publication)	-----	31
Red Square	-----	93
Red Star (official organ of Red Army)	-----	31

		Page
Salisbury, Harrison	-----	31
SHATO	-----	31
Shapiro	-----	31
Sino-Soviet case	-----	31
Soviet 1-Year Economic Development Plan	-----	31
Soviet Union	-----	31
"Spirit of Camp David"	-----	31
"Soy Next Door, The" (TV show)	-----	31
Stalin	-----	31
Stalin-Hillier pact	-----	31
Subcommittee	-----	31